A B Bragg

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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

A RHYMED STORY.

BY LOUISE E. VICKROY.

Three long, long hundred years ago,
The ocean waves, in their sweeping flow,
The loveliest music made,
Where they beat on an Island's shelly shore,
And sang what they never had sung before;
Where their course by that beach was stayed,
And the wandering winds took up the strain,
To repeat it over and over again,
Away through the palm trees' shade.

The voice of that music was proud and grand,
And its burden a tale of an olden land,
Of glory and high renown;
In the sunrise regions afar that lay,
And basked in the light of the earliest ray
That streamed from the day-god's crown;
And a ringing sound in its roll and swell,
Like the chime of a Christian, Sabbath bell,
Was its beautiful undertone.

While a dark-eyed youth, in a dreaming mood,
Looked out, far out, on the boundless flood,
And up through the cloudless blue
Of the summer heaven; and his heart beat high,
With the sense of a sudden prophecy;
For the youth was listening, too,
To the winds as they passed, and the waves as they rolled,
And his spirit felt that the tale they told
Of the sunrise world was true.

Then sailing soft o'er those waters bright,
Strange things he witnessed with forms of light,
Nearing his Island home.
He scarcely breathed, but it was not fear
That stilled his heart, and that bade the tear
To his dazzled eye to come;
But what, oh what, and from whence are they,
Of the stately step, on the mystic way,
Through the feathery, flashing foam?

Crowds gather around, but he heeds them not,
For a passionate tumult of eager thought
Wells up in a ceaseless stream,
From the hidden founts of his soul's deep springs;
As like heavenly birds, with their wide-spread wings,
Do those white-sailed vessels seem,
All their banner folds with the winds at play;
But those bearded men, in their rich array,
Are they spirits, or does he dream?

No; that breathless and wandering multitude,
That, speechless and spell-bound, around him stood,
Must the truth of the scene reveal;
And amazement thrill him, still more and more,
When they leave the ships, and have touched the shore,
And he watches them lowly kneel;
Then, with regal pomp and with priestly prayer,
The kingly banner is planted there,
Of Leon and proud Castile.

And the native people draw near the while,
With many a welcoming word and smile,
To the beings of mystery;
And they answer back, in a softer tongue
Than ever echoed the groves among,
Of the isles of the western sea;
And their gestures tell how they crossed the main,
And their words are ever of Spain, dear Spain,
Her prowess and chivalry!
They tell, midst the nations, how great she stands,
Since her armies vanquished the Moorish bands,
And the Pagan power o'erthrew;
And this on her history's page appears,
But the just reward of her long, long years,
To her God and his church so true;
And now she may rest, with her banners furled;
On the heights of Fame she hath found a world,
And what hath she more to do?

But the youth of our tale, he hath stood apart,
Such visions awaken within his heart,
As none but the poet know;
For he hears, though they speak in a stranger tongue,
That the story the winds and the waters sung,
Is the same from their lips that flow;
While the golden dreams that he will not speak,
You might almost read on his swarthy cheek,
By the flushes that come and go.

He could see, as it were, through a twilight dim,
A morning gleam, and could hear the hymn
Of the deep toned harp of Time;
First faint in its flow, and as musical
As descending dews at the evenfall,
Then on in a clearer chime;
His spirit followed away afar,
Where it echoed downward from star to star,
Like a rippling stream of rhyme.

Then he greeted them each with a warm embrace,
And trustingly looked in each Christian face,
As nothing he knew of fear;
And as days went by, he their language learned,
And a holy flame in his bosom burned;
When with one, as a brother dear,
He sat 'neath a palm on the velvet moss,
And counted the beads and kissed the cross,
With a childlike smile and tear.

But the time has come when the fair winds blow,
And o'er the wide ocean the ships must go,
To the olden world again;
For fond hearts yearn toward the castle towers,
The vine-clad hills, and the sunny bowers,
Of dream enchanted Spain;
All fondly true as the gentle dove,
To the ark as a temple of holy love,
Turned back from the watery plain.

And the youth to the Island will bid farewell,
Where his fathers sleep, where his brethren dwell,
That his eyes may be feasted on
The castles strong and the cities fair,
Whose turrets bask in a blessed air;
While a holy light is thrown
On the convent's wall and the minster's gloom,
And the souls arise from the hallowed tomb,
To the arms of the Virgin's son.

So he goeth away from his native shore,
In his kindred's midst to be known no more;
But he bears in his faithful heart
A memory fair, of the streams and groves
Of his youthful dreams and his early loves;
For they of himself are part;
And turns toward the sunset, through weary days,
To dream of how softly the sunlight plays,
Where the flowers through the mosses start.

Where loved ones waited so long in vain,
The looked-for vessels sail back again,
And a welcome warm have they;
And the voyagers tell, on their native ground,
To the wondering throngs, that a world is found,
And Spain has a festal day;
For around her brow is a glory beam,
That may wake for her painter his brightest dream,
For her poet, his proudest lay.

But once, at the purpling close of day,
The youth of the Island hath stolen away,
Weary and worn with care,
Alone, to a steep by the ocean side,
And sadly gazed on the moaning tide,
And muttered a mournful prayer.
But, hark! there are footsteps and voices near;
Why trembles his heart with a nameless fear?
Why feels he this vague despair?

He hath listened to words in that lonely spot,
For a moment, as if he had listened not,
Then up with a bound he springs.
"A slave! a slave to be bought and sold,
And the traitorous Christian to count his gold,
As the price of my sufferings!
Away! how dare you, my cruel foes,
Deem me a slave, in whose veins there flows
The blood of the Island Kings?"

His hands had been clasping the symbols sweet
Of the Christian's faith, but beneath his feet
He scornfully cast them down;
And, with folded arms, for a space he stood,
Then plunged, where the waves of the ocean flood
Went by with their endless moan.
Yet lovely the slumbering moonlight was
On the blessed beads and the holy cross,
That night, when the youth was gone.

Johnstown, Pa., May, 1856.

At the last regular meeting of the Managers of the American Bible Society, in New York, ten new auxiliary societies were recognised, of which five were in Arkansas, and one in each of the States of Connecticut, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Michigan. Various grants of books were also made. The year commences encouragingly, both as to receipts and distributions.

The St. Paul (Minnesota) *Pioneer* says that good spring water carried about in that city costs about thirty cents per barrel, and river water from ten to fifteen cents, according to the distance. In winter time, the rates are much higher.

For the National Era.

THE WIFE FOR A MINISTER.

BY MARY IRVING.

"Very fine!" exclaimed a graduate of Princeton, as he lifted his eyes from the last paragraph of "*Sunny Side,*" and slowly closed the small volume. "Very fine, but"——

"But what, my dear critic?" inquired a matronly-looking little lady, whose sewing-work lay cosily scattered about the sofa on which the young gentleman was lounging. "Have you any fault to find with that book?"

"It would disarm any fault-finder, coz, with its simplicity and pathos. I am only quarrelling with it because it has not told me more."

"Of what? I gave it to you, hoping that you would be greatly benefited by it," said the lady, with an arch smile.

"Yes, it teaches me more than one lesson. But it has not solved the great problem of my life."

"And that is"——

"What is the wife for a minister?" said the gentleman, interrupting her, with a meaning smile. "It shows us an unexceptionable minister's spouse, to be sure. But how to discover such an one? What tokens in a young lady's contour, manner, and dress, mark out an incipient 'Mrs. Edwards?'"

The lady poised her thimble thoughtfully upon her needle, for an instant, before she replied, shaking her head roguishly—

"Instinct, cousin George! Instinct is the only key to a woman's heart. If you cannot unlock its treasures by *that*, no rules nor illustrations can help you."

"It is a hard-fitting key," said he, laughing.

"Have you ever tried it?" she asked, in the same tone. Then, suddenly growing serious, she added, "Are you really determined to go West without a help-meet?"

"Not at all, cousin; on the contrary, I am determined to find one whenever I can, be that sooner or later in my history. I fully subscribe to the excellence of Paul's list of requisites for 'a bishop.' But, dear cousin, a clergyman's wife is a *rara avis*, that must be sought for with special care, and discovered by special tokens. Think of the responsibilities that are thrown upon her shoulders! Not only must she be 'all things to all men,' and to all *women*, too—which implies a great deal more—but she must also be *everything* to her husband. A pattern for the parish may be a very poor wife for the heart and hearth. Who can combine the two—elegance and economy, gracefulness and goodness, cheerfulness and consistency, sympathy and equanimity, decision and docility—a heart with a head, and a hand for every light or heavy duty?"

"Quite enough for a list of qualifications!" exclaimed the lady. "My dear George, you must not be too fastidious. Women are not 'cut out to order.' You must take one as you find her, and mould her to her circumstances, or to your fancy. Seriously, now, I am going through the list of your young lady acquaintances, and you shall hear me. There is Lilla Tracy"——

"A pleasant parlor doll, or partner in a picnic!" broke in George. "But as for *my* dusty, rough track in life, her little feet would tire of the first stage!"

"If you want energy, look at Susan Stillman, so active and intelligent."

"She would give a minister's study no quiet, and his parish no peace. If I married such a machine for perpetual motion, I should expect to live as the Methodist fraternity do on a 'circuit,' with 'no abiding city.'"

"Rather severe, young man! Olivia Grey?"

"No; the mildew of coquetry will blight *her* home happiness. None but a fresh heart for me!"

"Martha Lacy, then," she said, mischievously. "She is certainly a flower that has 'blushed unseen' by admiring eyes."

"And will continue to do so, as far as the admiration of *my* eyes are concerned. I find no fault with Nature's handiwork, but cannot change my taste for the graceful and beautiful, into even toleration of their opposites."

"Jane Washington?"

"A pretty Amazon," he exclaimed, turning his head. "When I have made up my mind to be 'your ladyship's obedient, humble servant,' and want a wife to write my sermons, not to speak of *preaching* them, I may bow to the black eyes of Miss Washington."

"You cannot lay that charge, certainly, against Lucy Higgins; for she is as modest as she is gifted—a jewel worth any man's heart."

"A jewel that deserves a more costly casing than parsonage walls can afford, cousin. Fancy Miss Lucy laying aside Thucydides to make a basin of corn gruel, or leaving her piano to listen to the music of half a dozen screaming babies, whose mothers have seen fit to honor her with an afternoon's visit! No, no, cousin! Better trust 'my instinct,' as you say, to provide for itself!"

"You are incorrigible!" returned the lady, "and will either dwindle into a confirmed old bachelor, or fall victim to some sudden stroke of a blue eye, and take a virago or a nonentity of some kind to your parsonage. Now, mind my prediction—'Those who walk through the wood, take up with a crooked stick'—you know the proverb."

"At least, leave me the pleasure of choosing my own crutch, or of hobbling through life without it! We have trifled long enough in this idle discussion; and I beg pardon, mentally, of the excellent young ladies in the case, for having subjected them to such indignities. But it is of no use, cousin. You know I was always a wilful boy, and all your kind match-making manœuvres can make nothing of me."

This was taken as mirthfully as it was said; for George Oakley and his favorite cousin had been sharers of each other's thoughts from childhood. And though, since her marriage, she had withdrawn unconsciously into a different sphere, she was still privileged to say to him what none other dared. She had set her heart on seeing him married before his establishment in "the West," to which indefinite country he was looking forward. She had introduced him to every young lady within the circle of her acquaintance, and exhausted her stock of hints and her fund of eloquence, many a time, to no purpose. But a few weeks remained to her now; and for that reason she had put forth the effort recorded above.

"What a study for a physiognomist!" mused George Oakley, about six weeks after this conversation, as, rolling his travelling cloak more closely about him, he comfortably disposed himself upon the crimson cushions of a railroad car, whose swift wheels were rushing westward. He had bidden the world he had known and loved, good bye; and his pulse beat quick and strong, as thoughts of that newer world toward which he was hurrying arose upon his fancy.

He watched the nondescript men who lay strewed about the seats of the car, or sat propped against its sides, with a secret wonder, whether the weight of destiny pressed upon every one of their hearts as forcibly as upon his own at the moment. There were women, too, and children—there always are in a railroad car; and Oakley studied the countenance and dress of each that came within his ken, without arriving at any very favorable or remarkable result. It had become a kind of second nature to him to study woman's physiognomy.

With his eyes fixed on a profile set in gaudy artificial flowers, in the midst of a sort of wondering contempt for its absurdity, George fell into a listless doze. He was aroused by a sharp, quick voice close at his ear.

"Dear me, Fanny, where shall I *ever* find a seat?"

He started—found that the cars had stopped, and that several new passengers were blockading the passage-way at his left. Among these, the owner of that voice stood most conspicuous—a thin, sallow-faced lady, rather over-dressed for travelling, all the features of whose face seemed for the moment concentrated into an expression of distress. Two or three children were clinging to her shawl, and at least a dozen different packages filled their several arms and the hands of a young lady who accompanied them, and who was at that instant settling a reluctant boy into a vacant space, with a bandbox in his lap.

Now, politeness in a railroad car is, as everybody knows, a very different thing from politeness in a parlor. The dictates of self-preservation and self-convenience are by far the most peremptory ones that press on a man's mind, especially if he had been suddenly aroused from an after-dinner nap. So George Oakley, seeing at a glance that he could not accommodate the whole party, contented himself with mutely drawing himself up into the corner of his seat, and indicating to the disconcerted lady, by an expressive wave of the hand, that she was at liberty to take the unoccupied half. She immediately dropped into it, with a short sigh of relief, loosened her saffron-colored bonnet-strings, and began to fan vehemently. The young lady, who had by this time disposed of all the remaining children, stood for a moment hesitating, as no seat offered itself.

"Fanny!" exclaimed the elder lady, in a shrill tone, "don't go off and leave me! I can't get along without you! Here's a gentleman will give you his seat, I'm sure"—and with that she turned to George, who had already risen, and was most gallantly making the desired motions.

"Thank you, sir; keep your seat!" said the young lady, with a graceful gesture, but in a very decisive tone. Her lip arched slightly as she spoke, but no shadow came over the cheerful repose of her countenance. Before George had recovered from his surprise at the unexpected refusal of his gallant offer, she had dropped a parcel of books and a bag of apples into her companion's lap, and walked to the other extremity of the car. On a little seat, facing all the others, she established herself, and opening a monthly magazine, sat reading, as demurely as though a hundred pairs of eyes were not turned upon her every other moment.

She had aroused George's curiosity, and he observed her closely. She was dressed in a closely-fitting brown travelling dress, with the plainest of collars; but the pin that fastened it was set with diamonds. There was something decidedly aristocratic, too, George fancied, in the graceful contour of her head, though it was covered with a chip hat. The countenance was pleasing, but how could anything but pride endure, without a blush, the stare of scores of eyes?

"A woman of the world," thought he; and withdrew his attention to the lady at his side, whose anxieties for every child and bundle in her possession were numberless and most wearying. Every station she imagined to be Dunkirk, and at every stoppage of a moment she summoned all her children about her, at the same time calling and beckoning "Fanny" from the recesses of the car. Fanny, buried in her book, was placidly blind and deaf to all her entreaties.

"Oh, I am worried to death!" she exclaimed, after her offspring had been jolted into their seats for the fifth time, by the sudden starting of the cars.

"You are, perhaps, unaccustomed to travelling, Madam!" politely observed George.

"Oh!" she shrugged her shoulders slightly; "I have travelled over the best part of Europe, with my husband and Fanny. With a gentleman in the party, one can go over the world, well enough! But ladies alone, by themselves, are so lost!"

He glanced at Fanny, whose clear, untroubled eye, now turned to the swiftly passing panorama of hill and sky, gave no indication of feeling "lost," and answered—

"Permit me then, though a stranger, to serve you and your party. Your daughter would perhaps accept my seat now."

"My daughter? Oh, Fanny! She is my niece, sir. If you *would* have the goodness to bring her here!"

Miss Fanny did not decline this second invitation; and Oakley saw the party only from a distance, until all arrived at Dunkirk.

The number of passengers was unusually large, and the number of trunks and boxes proportionably so. As the steamer for which most of the travellers were destined was on the point of starting, the scene of confusion may be more easily conceived of than described. Just as Oakley had succeeded in rescuing his travelling trunk and box of books from two conflicting hackmen, he caught sight of his acquaintances of the cars—children, bundles, parasols, and all—in the midst of the crowding gang. He made the best of his way towards them.

"Aunt! *do* take the children out of the ring," Fanny was pleading, as he came up. "*I* can attend to all this. Do go back."

"But my trunks; they will all be lost!" exclaimed the aunt, in a sort of spasm of dread, as she saw one tossed from the baggage-car. She stretched out both her arms, as if to grasp it. Fanny laughed.

"Can I assist you, ladies?" hastily asked Oakley.

"Oh; I am so flustered and pushed about!" exclaimed the elder lady, nervously wiping her forehead.

Two of the children here commenced crying aloud—the one from the pressure of a hackman's heel, the other from sympathy.

"Thank you, sir," said Fanny, quickly; "if you can place my aunt and the children in a place of safety, you can assist me."

"But—your baggage?"

"I have the checks," she cheerfully replied. Stepping a little to one side, and watching her opportunity, by dint of emphatic but graceful gestures, she accomplished her business just as the gentleman returned. She allowed him to lead her out of the crowd, and to assist her in the difficult transfer of the whole company, animate and inanimate, to the steamer.

Mrs. Dunbar (Oakley had learned her name from her trunks) was sick the next morning; and George caught only an occasional glimpse of her niece, as she crossed the cabin from one state-room to another. At dinner, both were present, and seated at the right of the captain, who had discovered an old city acquaintance in Mrs. Dunbar.

"I never take wine, sir—thank you."

These words, spoken in a gentle, but decided tone, made Oakley look up from his dessert. The Captain, with his hand on a glass of champagne, and a most insinuating smirk upon his face, was debating the point with his fair passenger. Her aunt, with a significant frown, touched her elbow; but Fanny still firmly but sweetly declined.

"Are you a *teetotaller*, then, Miss?" inquired the Captain, in a quizzical tone, as he and Mrs. Dunbar filled their glasses for the second time.

"No, indeed! I hope not," began the aunt, in an indignant tone. But Fanny interrupted her.

"If you mean to ask, sir, whether I prefer water to wine, on *all occasions*, I can answer, yes!"

The Captain gave her a furtive look, but, meeting her composed glance, he half bowed, as if in involuntary respect, and urged no farther.

The party had taken the route around the lakes, to avoid frequent changes. George had chosen it, in order to gain a sight of Mackinaw, and the wild, wooded shores of Michigan. A steamboat carries a world of its own, whose denizens seldom find much difficulty in becoming acquainted with one another. At all events, George assiduously cultivated the acquaintance of Mrs. and Miss Dunbar, and soon ascertained that the former was on her way to Iowa, to rejoin her husband, whom sudden illness had prevented from returning to convey his family and chattels to their Western home.

"It was too late in the season to wait for company," she added, "and Fanny thought there would be no difficulty in coming on alone. Fanny thinks she can do everything—so I let myself be over-persuaded. Oh, that this terrible journey were once well over!"

Mr. Oakley glanced at Fanny, who, with a musical laugh, was lifting two of the children from the hurricane-deck, and did not wonder that she "thought she could do anything."

"Do you intend to remain in B——?" he questioned.

"N—no; probably somewhere in the country near. My husband has been there during the summer."

This was said with a hesitancy that hinted to Oakley what he afterwards found to be truth; that her husband, through his wife's extravagance and his own unfortunate speculations, had failed, and sunk from wealth to comparative poverty.

A severe storm relieved the monotony of the four days' voyage. Few were spared by the demon who rules on lake as potently as on sea, and these few could hardly venture from their berths with safety to life and limb, so violent was the rocking of the vessel. Oakley had succeeded in sliding into the cabin, and had just taken possession of a sofa, when he was startled by a fall and crash. To his astonishment, Fanny Dunbar sprang up from the floor upon which she had been so rudely thrown, holding the fragments of a glass that had dyed her delicate fingers in their own crimson gore.

"You have hurt yourself! How came *you* here?" cried Oakley, ere, by a series of awkward contortions, he gained the side of the table which now supported her.

"Oh, no, sir," she answered, with a smile at their mutual plight, as she wound her handkerchief about the bleeding fingers; "but"——

"Permit me to escort you to your state-room, and to bring you that glass of water. It is really too rough"——

But, as he spoke, a downward glance told him that he had mistaken the contents of the broken glass. A shadow clouded the fair face beside him.

"I was trying to carry this glass of brandy to the steerage cabin, sir. There is misery enough there—a poor, little, fatherless Irish baby, dying in this hubbub of men and elements."

She lifted her eyes, glassed with tears.

"I will go with you!" exclaimed Oakley. "I am a clergyman, and perhaps"——

"I thought so," she interrupted, with a bright, sympathetic look. "Now, then, for our difficult journey. I have gained a little wisdom from experience, I believe. No, thank you; don't try to hold me up; you would only cause a double downfall!"

If the scene above stairs had been one of positive confusion and distress, that in the cabin below demanded a superlative to describe it. A band of Irish immigrants, poor, uncouth, and filthy from carelessness and long travel, lay piled about in hordes over the floor and bunks. Men, women, and children, food and clothing, were rolling and pitching hither and thither, with every wave. More than one sense revolted, as George Oakley with difficulty followed Fanny into the close, reeking atmosphere.

On a bunk, furnished merely with Miss Dunbar's travelling shawl, lay a poor, forlorn, rickety child, breathing away its hopeless life. Its mother clung frantically to the side, and drowned with her screams the groans of the sea-sick and unsympathizing around her.

"My baby! Mavourneen! It's dying he is, and niver a sowl to help! Oh, Howly Mither! Were the praste but nigh us!"

"Hush!" exclaimed Fanny, laying her hand in a soothing manner, yet with authority, on the arm of the writhing mourner. "Here is a minister who has come to help you. Stand by him, while I do what I can for your baby."

She took in her hands the mis-shapen, cold limbs of the half-clad child, and commenced rubbing them with the spirit she had brought. Then mixing a few drops with water, she put it to the blue lips; but the sufferer was too far gone. A few short, struggling breaths—and the Irish baby needed no more!

Now, turning to the agonized mother, Fanny soothed her as tenderly as a sister might have done, mingling her own tears with hers, and leading her gradually—as George, hopeless of gaining her attention for a moment, had withdrawn to a short distance—to think of the new spirit born among the angels, rather than of the darling, though deformed child, lost to her arms on earth. At last, overpowered by watching and grief, she sunk down on the floor, with her head in the young lady's lap, and fell into a heavy slumber. Oakley, at a sign, left the steerage. Crossing the upper cabin, he heard, in a well-known, querulous tone—

"Fanny! Where *is* Fanny? I've called her a dozen times! I do believe we shall all go to the bottom to-night!"

When George next descended, after the storm had lulled, he found not Fanny there; but the mother, with subdued grief in her face, sat quietly gazing on the dead child, which, now washed and robed by Fanny's kind hands, was far less repulsive to the stranger's eye than in life. She listened now to the words of the young clergyman gratefully and eagerly.

It was with keen regret that George parted from his new acquaintances at Chicago, where their routes diverged.

"If you will sometime come to our prairie home, we will try to thank you for all your care and trouble," said Fanny, holding out her hand for a frank good-bye, after she and her companions had been safely established in the low cabin of the canal-boat.

George had a thought of stipulating the exact terms in which those thanks should be paid, but prudently held his peace.

"Oh, don't speak of our 'prairie home!'" exclaimed the aunt. "I'm sure I shall be miserable in this dreadful country."

"I am sure *I* shall be happy!" said Fanny, brightly. "Happy in the exchange of fashion and frivolity, for freedom and life in earnest!" Her eyes sparkled as she closed, with a parting smile and nod to the young clergyman, who ever after carried a daguerreotype of that moment's look in his heart.

* * * * *

A blustering snow-storm was sweeping the prairie, on a bleak day of the following winter, when a sort of conveyance, called by courtesy a sleigh, stopped at the door of a comfortable log-house, on the borders of the woodland.

"Ugh!" exclaimed the sole occupant of the vehicle, our friend George. "I cannot go any farther to-night. It's sheer cruelty to my horse; and a 'merciful man' has pity on his beast as well as on himself. I wonder what hospitality this snug cabin can afford?"

Shaking the sleet from his rough great-coat, he walked toward the door. His tap was answered by a small boy, whose countenance struck him as familiar. But his own face was so muffled in furs, and in red and yellow handkerchiefs, that to identify *him* would have been almost impossible to his best friend.

He entered; but one glance more arrested his steps, and quickened the blood at his heart. Close by the cooking-stove, with tucked-up sleeves, floured apron, and ladle poised over sundry islands of dough floating in a whirlpool, stood—Fanny Dunbar!

At sight of a stranger, she dropped her ladle, skillfully swung her kettle from its position, pulled down her sleeves, and pulled off her apron, all in the space of a moment, and then turned, with the grace of a court lady, to do the honors of the cabin. Her face was fire-flushed, but unembarrassed, as she said—

"Walk in, sir. Johnny, bring a chair. My uncle will soon be at home."

"You do not recognise me?" said Oakley, with a smile, as he commenced untwisting the mufflings from his neck.

"Your voice I do, but— Oh! it is Mr. Oakley!" and she extended both hands to his cordial grasp. "Aunt, come here!" she exclaimed, throwing aside a curtain which divided the one large room of the cabin. "Here is our acquaintance of the steamboat! It does one so much good to see a face ever met before!"

Mrs. Dunbar, however, seemed rather chagrined at sight of a remembered face. With a downcast air, she commenced an apology for the humble situation in which they were found, and especially for the occupation in which Fanny's hands had been detected.

"Our help is absent, sir," she remarked.

Fanny gave her a comical side glance.

"And will remain absent, I hope, as she has done for the past six weeks," said she, laughing. "The truth is, Mr. Oakley, we could obtain no good help; so we turned our kitchen dignitary out of doors, and have taken to 'helping' ourselves."

Here Fanny diverged into a description of several odd beings, who had figured as her predecessors in the stove and broom line. All, even Mrs. Dunbar, were laughing merrily; and the "doughnuts" had recommenced their fiery trials, when Mr. Dunbar, a toil-worn, broken-down man of business, came in.

The supper, served by Fanny's hands, and seasoned by Fanny's voice and eye, was of course a meal without a parallel in the history of George Oakley. Mrs. Dunbar sighed and apologized, and mourned for "old times" and her set of silver. Mr. Dunbar grew animated over politics and news in general; and Fanny kept all lively and bright, in her unassuming, cheerful way.

"Fanny, I wish you would put the children to bed—Estelle frets me so," exclaimed her aunt, after a little time.

"Certainly," answered Fanny, as the little one sprung gladly to her arms.

"Fanny is our household fairy," said her uncle, with a grateful glance.

"Say brownie, uncle!" responded she, with her foot on the lowest round of the side ladder, which gave their only ingress to "the loft," where the children were nightly taken to rest—"say brownie, and then I might conscientiously appropriate the compliment!"

Mrs. Dunbar, too, withdrew for a time behind her curtain.

"Brownie or fairy, she is the joy of the house!" exclaimed her uncle, half to Oakley, half to himself, as, with a long sigh, he bent his head.

"It is seldom that one bears so cheerfully the reverses of fortune," began Oakley.

"Reverses!" exclaimed the other, lifting his head.

"True; yes, too true! Yet Fanny has no need to stay with us, and I cannot always have it so. She must go back to the life for which she was born; she has yet a competence. And had it not been for my unlucky speculations, which swamped her fortune with my own, she had been yet what she was—the richest heiress of Y.!"

"Hers are the untransferable riches, if I mistake not!" said Oakley.

"You are right—you are right! City life soon lost its charm for her, and she does not regret its lost whirl of excitement. Even our travels in Europe failed to cheer her up, after the death of the good grandmother who had brought her up. She was forever pining to be, as she said, of some use to the world. And now—Heaven knows what we should do without her!"

Fanny's reappearance cut short this burst of confidential praise.

"Give us some of your Scotch airs, my bird!" said her uncle, turning aside to brush what seemed to George a tear from his eyelashes.

Uncovering an old piano, which the unsuspecting Oakley had mistaken for a rough chest, she gave her visiter such a treat as few city parlors can afford.

"And now, Fanny, please read a chapter. My eyes are poorly this evening."

Her clear voice, not less musical than when blending with the tones her fingers awoke, seemed attuned to the chapter of St. John's Gospel which she had chosen. The young clergyman finished the family devotions; but *one* prayer of his heart was too sacred to be breathed, even there!

* * * * *

"Rejoice, dear Myra!" wrote George Oakley, months after, to his favorite cousin; "for the days of my bachelorhood are 'numbered.' How soon they will be 'finished,' depends upon the decree of a certain little despot, who, without being either a 'virago' or a 'nonentity,' has inveigled me into a confident belief of the fitness of *one* woman to be even a Western minister's wife! But for *one* unfortunate circumstance, we might hope to plod on through life in the very tracks of the hero and heroine of your favorite 'Sunny Side.' That obstacle is—the small fortune of the lady, (saved from the wreck of a far greater a one,) a competence for a life of duty and self-denial, such as we hope to lead. I cannot, surely, regret that which gives me assurance that the heart of my Fanny will never know the bitterness of abject poverty, nor her generosity an entire check, come what may over my power to guard her. Our work for life is the same that it would otherwise have been. It was not undertaken 'for money or for price.' But enough. Hasten, dear cousin, to bestow your loving benediction upon the penitent Benedict,

"GEORGE OAKLEY."

ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND RUSSIA.

To the Editor of the National Era:

SIR: I propose to give you my auguries upon the question I see frequently raised here, whether the *prestige* of the artistocracy of the United Kingdom has been ruined by the events of the last two years. They may not be worth anything, but that I will leave to you to decide.

The circumstance that evoked the loudest menaces against the patrician order was the suffering of the army in the winter of 1854-'55, and the general break-down of all the departments. As a set-off, however, against this stimulus, the people have seen the ship of State speedily right itself under the firm guidance of Lord Palmerston and his Minister of War, Lord Panmure. They have seen that Generals June, July, and August, of last year, passed over the British camp more innocuously than over allies or foe. The winter just over has offered a complete contrast to the previous winter. If the French gave us necessaries in 1854-'55, we have been able to return them in 1855-'56. If their hospitals compared favorably with ours in 1854-'55, ours have been superior to theirs in 1855-'56. Again, the British people feel that the fullest publicity has been shed over every detail of British mismanagement and British suffering, while the political condition of the other contending parties (Sardinia included) enforced an almost total silence on the state of their respective armies. The main result of the campaign, in this regard, has been to excite vigilance, and even suspicion, on the part of the people, and a desire for reform—but not, so far as I can see, a pitch of revolutionary feeling against the aristocracy as a body.

Again, consider that the late war was proclaimed, in Britain, to be a war in behalf of liberal principles, the Czar was stigmatized as the first European conservative, as the upholder of the middle ages and its ideas all over the world. Yet, such being the declared character of the contest, the British people have seen their patricians laying down their lives most readily on the field of battle, and a fair share of the conservative statesmen in Lords and Commons pledging their last shilling in its support. The British people would act very ungenerously, in my opinion, if they, in view of such actions, were to prosecute a rancorous agitation against one class of their fellow-citizens, who have done well their duty, and borne their share of suffering, in the late deadly struggle. As far as I can judge from general considerations, and from private information, this spectacle has had the opposite effect of knitting together the several classes of the community.

Into whose hands has the conduct of the diplomatic phase of the war been intrusted? Into those of the Whig aristocracy. The people have been proud of the part Lord Clarendon has played throughout, and especially of the distinguished position he took up in the late Conferences at Paris. On the whole, I cannot doubt that the liberal sentiment of the United Kingdom is, at this moment, profoundly grateful to the Whigs, for the part they have played since the Hamilton Seymour conversations. I have full faith that the ultimate verdict of public opinion will be, that the present Cabinet, in opposing the Czar's designs, added a chapter to their party history, which will compare not unfavorably with that which tells of the Revolution of 1688, and the struggles by which it was subsequently consolidated and established; with that which tells of their opposition to the American war, and to the French war of 1793; and with that which details their brilliant efforts in behalf of progress and reform at home, and constitutional principles abroad, during that long period of peace which elapsed between 1815 and 1854.

I therefore conclude that it is too soon to declare that the reign of the British aristocracy is quite over; and if anything has been calculated to suppress public indignation against that small portion of their body who declared themselves Philo-Czarian from the first, it has been the knowledge on the part of the British people that they need not go far to find the spectacle of a Democracy with Russian sympathies much stronger, much more overt, and much more inexcusable. I agree with every word written by your candid and truthful correspondent, who dates from Norway. That correspondent, speaking of Europe generally, bears evidence to the disgust excited among the Liberals of every European nation by the frigid neutrality with Russian leanings manifested by some of the revolutionary leaders in Europe, and the far more positive sentiments, amounting even to enthusiasm, which have characterized the American Democracy. I can corroborate your correspondent's assertions as especially true of the British Isles. Were every person as candid as your Scandinavian friend, and as you permit me to be, they would declare aloud, that if Despotism has been the chief sufferer by the events of the last three years, extreme Democracy has earned the next largest share of discredit. I feel only too acutely the points of the bright new weapon which the Whigs and Moderate Reformers of Britain have by them for future use against the Universal Suffrage men and the pure Democrats of that part of the world.

Of the two old charges against the American Democracy—its love of Slavery and its love of Manifest Destiny—the first was getting rusty and stale, and the second was always rather blunt. The new-born love of Czarism will be far the most effectual javelin to hurl against the hydra-headed monster, Democracy. It will rankle in the gizzards of the Universal Suffrage men for many a year to come. I wish them joy of it!

If the advent of the Democratic Millennium seems yet far off, let not he friends of Human Progress in America despond. Pure legitimate Absolutism and pure Aristocracy were never so cowed and so dispirited as at present. The LIBERALS of Europe, the Constitutionalists proper, were never more confident, more aroused, more sympathetic, more conscious of their mission. In 1848, it seemed for a moment that the near future belonged to the Republicans of Europe, to the party of pure Democracy. This was a deceiving phenomenon. In 1856, it is very plain that the friends of progress must place their main reliance upon the party that fills the space that lies *between* the Red Mountain of Jacobinism and the White Mountain of Legitimacy. Yours, &c.,

PLYMOUTH.

AN APPEAL FROM A KANSAS MAN.

SHANNON, K. T., *May* 25, 1856.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Through the *Era* I wish to say a few words to the whole North, and especially to every man in the North in whose breast there is one particle of justice, or the love of Human Liberty.

Do you feel that the South is fast winding the web of Slavery around this Territory? Are you alive to the fact that Kansas has been, and is now, if the voice of her own citizens could be heard, most decidedly in favor of Freedom? Will you permit a portion of your own territory to be wrested from you? Do you doubt whether Freedom or Slavery is in the ascendant in Kansas? Let the report of the committee appointed by your own Congress decide the point. Believe not rumors; suspend the judgment until that committee shall have made their report, and then believe and act, or Slavery's dark belt of hell will certainly encircle this Territory.

It is extremely difficult to believe that one State will interfere with the rights of another, and much more difficult for men, accustomed to respect the rights of others, to be persuaded that men can be found, who will unite and march in numbers into a new Territory, and usurp its control. But this has been done, and Kansas is now under control of this foreign power. We should not feel unkind and malicious towards the South. A people who can habitually trample on all the rights and powers of the black man, have not, and cannot have, that nice sense of justice and of human rights, that will cause them to be very scrupulous of the political rights of white men. Slavery confuses the mental and moral perceptions, and hence its tendencies are anti-republican.

If the Pro-Slavery people were in the majority in Kansas, we would feel that it was perfectly right for them to control us, and right for us to submit to their law; but the case is a different one. They know, and we know, and you will know when your committee report, that we are largely in the majority.

And yet we must bow—our rights are trampled on, our laws are made for us, and made to gall and exterminate us. Our rulers are appointed years in advance over us. Our elective franchise is taken from us, unless we will bow the knee to the Moloch of Slavery, and do its vile bidding. Our leaders are seized for the most trivial offences, and if they are not mobbed or murdered, they are held under arrests, or confined in prison. Our houses are demolished, our presses thrown into the river, freedom of speech is no longer tolerated. Our citizens are insulted without cause, and shot down without crime. The object is plain; it is done to *intimidate and exterminate a people they cannot fairly meet at the polls.*

Am I asked, why the majority do not control, if they have the numbers? It has been done wherever the Pro-Slavery party, unaided by outside interference, have attempted to execute their Missouri law.

The law till now has been a dead letter. Now it is being enforced by the Administration. The Federal agent, the representative of the whole United States, the officer (Governor Shannon) who represents you in Kansas, has called into his service the Government troops at Fort Leavenworth; and he has mustered into his service those large companies of men from the South, who have volunteered their services to act as his posse.

Thus, my friends, are we crushed. Thus are we compelled to submit to the minority power—to a foreign yoke; and it is the power of the General Government that is crushing Freedom out in Kansas. This has been at the very time when the leaders of the Administration were tolling loud and long the bell of "Territorial sovereignty," and crying "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." The principle of "Territorial sovereignty," so much lauded in Congress, if adopted as "the needful rule and regulation" in Kansas, will result in wresting it from the North, and place it in the hands of the South. Among men willing and accustomed to respect human rights, the principle may do; but in the presence of large States, accustomed to trample on human rights, it is mockery. It is virtually a permit to overrun our new Territories.

Let Congress adopt any "rule or regulation," but let them not trust the organization of our Territories to a principle so easily subverted.

But I am departing from the main object of my letter. What is to be done? Will the North give up Kansas, when their own people are and have been in the majority? Will they yield up their own people to insult and outrage, and their Territory, fairly gained to Freedom by the actual settlement of their hardy pioneers, to the high behests of the Slave Power? Will they allow Missourians to come here in organized bands, take our polls, make our laws, and then enforce them, because a certain "Aid Company," located somewhere in the East, have endeavored to make money from the "tendencies to Western emigration?" Will the North give up Kansas, because political hucksters have raised the cry of "Abolition?" Will they, from time to time, send men to Congress, who will vote for and support the Kansas outrages? I cannot be persuaded that the North, *when they know the facts,* will countenance such a course. Would you do justice to Kansas, instruct your Senators and Representatives in Congress *to wipe out the whole Kansas laws, and either admit us as a free State at once, or give a rule that will secure our rights to us.* Does any one ask how the South will feel and act, if this is done? I answer, they will feel that they have even-handed justice.

They know and feel that this Territory is decidedly a free one. The fact that they import numbers to control our elections, and the fact that they do not come here with their slaves, is evidence that they know and feel that Kansas does not belong to them. The men who made the law for Kansas did not believe that they had a right to make such a law. I heard them (some four or five members of the House) declare that some of their number, and they mentioned Younger, *was not now, and never had been, a resident of Kansas,* but was living in Missouri.

Another fact. A few days after the Legislature adjourned, I happened to meet Dr. Croysdale, one of the members from the Pottawatomie Reserve. I said to him, "Doctor, when did you adjourn?" "Oh, damn it!" said he, "I don't know. Damn such a Legislature. I never felt that it was a Legislature. Damn it, I was in Westport most of the time."

These facts, if need be, I will state under oath. I mention them to show how the Pro-Slavery men out here *feel.*

The party are playing for Kansas, and they hope to secure it through the present Administration, and then they will come here with their slaves. They hope that Mr. Oliver will be able to make such a minority report as will throw dust into conservative eyes. They are laboring hard to prove that the North imported the first voters. This they will try to show by proving that numbers—just such numbers as go and return from all our new Territories, when first thrown open for settlement—came to Kansas, and voted, and then returned. Because some returned, as it always happens, they hope to neutralize the power of the majority report.

Let the people beware of such tricks. Let the North stand firm, as one man. Let any and every demagogue and party that sustains Missouri in her position of outrage, be laid on the shelf, and Kansas will be safe.

Respectfully, &c., S. D. HOUSTON.

REMARKS OF MR. R. W. EMERSON,

At a Meeting at Concord, May 26th, to consider the Outrage upon Mr. Sumner.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I sympathize heartily with the spirit of the resolutions. The events of the last few years and months and days have taught us the lessons of centuries. I do not see how a barbarous community and a civilized community can constitute one State. I think we must get rid of Slavery, or we must get rid of Freedom. Life has no parity of value in the free State and in the slave State. In one, it is adorned with education, with skillful labor, with arts, with long prospective interests, with sacred family ties, with honor and justice. In the other, life is a fever; man is an animal, given to pleasure, frivolous, irritable, spending his days in hunting and practicing with deadly weapons to defend himself against his slaves, and against his companions brought up in the same idle and dangerous way.

Such people live for the moment; they have properly no future, and readily risk on every passion a life which is of small value to themselves or to others. Many years ago, when Mr. Webster was challenged in Washington to a duel by one of these madcaps, his friends came forward with prompt good sense, and said such a thing was not to be thought of; Mr. Webster's life was the property of his friends, and of the whole country, and was not to be risked on the turn of a vagabond's ball. Life and life are incommensurate. The whole State of South Carolina does not now offer any one or any number of persons who are to be weighed, for a moment, in the scale with such a person as the meanest of them all has now struck down. The very conditions of the game must always be—the worst life staked against the best. It is the best whom they desire to kill. It is only when they cannot answer your reasons, that they wish to knock you down. If, therefore, Massachusetts could send to the Senate a better man than Mr. Sumner, his death would only be so much more quick and certain.

Now, as men's bodily strength or skill, with knives and guns, is not usually in proportion to their knowledge and mother wit, but oftener in the inverse ratio, it will only do to send foolish persons to Washington, if you wish them to be safe. The outrage is the more shocking, from the singularly pure character of its victim. Mr. Sumner's position is exceptional in its honor. He had not taken his degrees in the caucus and in hack politics. It is notorious that, in the long time when his election was pending, he refused to take a single step to secure it. He would not so much as go up to the State House to shake hands with this or that person, whose good will was reckoned important by his friends. He was elected. It was a homage to character and talent. In Congress, he did not rush into a party position. He sat long silent and studious. His friends, I remember, were told that they would find Sumner a man of the world, like the rest; 'tis quite impossible to be at Washington, and not bend; he will bend as the rest have done.

Well, he did not bend. He took his position, and kept it. He meekly bore the cold shoulder from some of his New England colleagues, the hatred of his enemies, the pity of the indifferent, cheered by the love and respect of good men with whom he acted, and has stood for the North, a little in advance of all the North, and therefore without adequate support. He has never faltered in his maintenance of justice and freedom. He has gone beyond the large expectation of his friends in his increasing ability and his manlier tone.

I have heard that some of his political friends tax him with indolence or negligence in refusing to make electioneering speeches, or otherwise to bear his part in the labor which party organization requires. I say it to his honor. But more to his honor are the faults which his enemies lay to his charge. I think, sir, if Mr. Sumner had any vices, we should be likely to hear of them. They have fastened their eyes like microscopes now for five years, on every act, word, manner, and movement, to find a flaw, and with what result? His opponents accuse him neither of drunkenness, nor debauchery, nor job, nor peculation, nor rapacity, nor personal aims of any kind. No; but with what? Why, beyond this charge, which it is impossible was ever sincerely made, that he broke over the proprieties of debate, I find him accused of publishing his opinion of the Nebraska conspiracy in a letter to the People of the United States, with discourtesy.

Then, that he is an abolitionist; as if every sane human was not a abolitionist, or a believer that all men should be free. And the third crime he stands charged with is, that his speeches were written before they were spoken; which of course must be true in Sumner's case, as it was true of Webster, of Adams, of Calhoun, of Burke, of Chatham, of Demosthenes, of every first-rate speaker that ever lived. It is the high compliment he pays to the intelligence of the Senate and of the country. When the same reproach was cast upon the first orator of ancient times, by some caviller of his day, he said, "I should be ashamed to come with one unconsidered word before such an assembly."

Mr. Chairman, when I think of these most small faults as the worst which party hatred could allege, I think I may borrow the language which Bishop Burnet applied to Sir Isaac Newton, and say, that Charles Sumner "has the whitest soul I ever knew."

Well, sir, this noble head, so comely and so wise, must be the target for a pair of bullies to beat with clubs! The murderer's brand shall stamp their foreheads, wherever they may wander in the earth. But I wish, sir, that the high respects of this meeting shall be expressed to Mr. Sumner; that a copy of the resolutions that have been read may be forwarded to him. I wish that he may know the shudder of terror that ran through all this community, on the first tidings of this brutal attack. Let him hear that every man of worth in New England loves his virtues; that every mother thinks of him as the protector of families; that every friend of Freedom thinks him the friend of Freedom. And if our arms at this distance cannot defend him from assassins, we confide the defence of a life so precious to all honorable men and true patriots, and to the Almighty Maker of men.—*Evening Telegraph.*

LETTER FROM JOSIAH QUINCY, SENIOR.

The following letter, sent to the presiding officer of the Unitarian Festival, recently held in Boston, by the venerable Josiah Quincy, senior, now in the *eighty-fifth year* of his age, will be read with interest:

QUINCY, *May* 27, 1856.

SIR: I have received your letter, inviting me to attend the Unitarian Festival, and expressing the gratification it would give you "to see and hear me on that occassion." It would give me great pleasure to comply with your request, did not the very tenor of your letter preclude me from it. I perceive that, should I attend, *a speech* will be expected from me. But, sir, it would be impossible for me to utter my opinions on the subject with which my heart is full, without crossing the policy of some, offending the prejudices of others, and making perhaps the whole company apprehend that I had arrived at that period of second childhood which is sometimes incident to old age.

My mind is in no state to receive pleasure from social scenes and friendly intercourse. I can think or speak of nothing but of the outrages of slaveholders at Kansas, and the outrages of slaveholders at Washington—outrages which, if not met in the spirit of our fathers of the Revolution, (and I see no sign that they will be,) our liberties are but a name, and our Union proves a curse. These outrages constitute a series of iniquitously contrived, well-connected, compact tissues, of which

The Fugitive Slave Law was the first;

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the second;

The invasion of Kansas, and the taking the ballot-boxes by storm, by a mob of slaveholders, the third;

The encouragement of this sacrilegious foray against the right of free suffrage, and the ultimate support of it by the National Executive and military arm, the fourth.

The hostile irruption of two members of Congress into the Senate Chamber of the United States, openly armed with deadly bludgeons, and probably secretly, according to the habits of their breed, with bowie-knives and revolvers, and the prostrating on the floor with their bludgeons a Senator of the United States, sitting peaceably in his seat, unconscious of danger, and from his position incapable of defence, inflicting upon him blows, until he sunk, senseless, under them, and which, if they do not prove mortal, it was not for want of malignant intent in the cowardly assassins—and all this for words publicly spoken in the Senate, in the course of debate, allowed by its presiding officer to be spoken, and exceeding not one hair's breadth any line of truth or duty. This is the fifth and the climax of this series of outrages, unparalleled, nefarious, and brutal.

Such are the facts—such are the outrages—a series of them, which ought to ring through every city and field, through every palace and cottage of the free States—which ought to fly, like the fiery cross on the highlands of Scotland, over the mountains and through the valleys of the free States, startling the sleeping, rousing the thoughtless, uniting the free clans, and enkindling whatever glimmering spark yet remains of the feeling and spirit which, in former times, entitled the inhabitants of the free States to the character of patriots, and fearless, far-seeing statesmen. But, alas! sir, I see no principle of vitality in what is called Freedom in these times. I see divisions enough, and parties enough—I see every *whim* setting up for itself, and calling and expecting all the rest of the world to follow in its train. But of a thoughtful, concentrated, determined principle, of united action, suited to the occasion, which, spurning the desire of place and the hope of emolument, and the hankering for office, and actuated solely for the advance of public good and general welfare, I see nothing. The palsy of death rests on the spirit of Freedom in the so-called "free States."

In my opinion, it is time to speak on the house-top what every man who is worthy of the name of freeman utters in his chamber and feels in his heart. By a series of corruption, intrigue, and cunning—bribing the high by appointments of State, the low by the hope of emoluments; playing between the parties of the free States, and counteracting one by the other; by flattering the vain, paying the mean, and rewarding the subservient—the slaveholders have, in the course of fifty years, usurped the whole constitutional powers of the Union, have possessed themselves of the Executive Chair, of the Halls of Congress, of the National courts of justice, and of the military arm, leaving nothing of hope to the spirit of Freedom in the free States, but public speech in the legislature and the ballot-box. The one, a slaveholders' mob is crushing in Kansas; the other, a deputation from the slaveholders of the House of Representatives have attempted to crush by a slaveholder's bludgeon.

My heart is too full. If I should pour forth all that is in it, both paper and time would fail me. Truly, I am yours, JOSIAH QUINCY.

E. R. Hoar, Esq.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS.

We have already quoted many extracts from Southern papers, exulting over the assault on Sumner. A portion of the Southern Press, it will be seen, condemn the outrage, while abusing Mr. Sumner. The Louisville *Journal* had a severe article upon it, which we have mislaid.

From the Baltimore Patriot.

For the first time since the organization of our Government a Senator of the United States has been assaulted and severely beaten for words spoken in debate. Great as the provocation undoubtedly was, no Senator, member of the House, or private citizen, is justified in righting his wrongs by a resort to personal violence. If personality be indulged in, either in the Hall of Representatives or in the Senate Chamber, it becomes the duty of the presiding officer to administer a prompt rebuke to the offender, and a point of self-respect with the members to hold no intercourse with any one of their body who persists in the attempt to disgrace himself and them. The bitter epithets and flagrant aspersions cast by Mr. Sumner upon respectable Senators, in his recent speech on Kansas affairs, and especially upon Senator Butler, of South Carolina, during the absence of the latter from the Senate Chamber, met with the unqualified reprobation of all who have been accustomed to regard Senators as a dignified body of men, and as exemplifying, by the courtesy and decorum they have usually observed, a proper sense of self-respect and a due appreciation of the important functions they were called upon to perform.

Unhappily, under the auspices of the present Administration, the domination of the Democratic party and the reckless renewal of that Slavery agitation to which they stood pledged to put and end, "both in and out of Congress," a war of sections has been provoked, which has led to bloodshed in Kansas and to a scene of violence in the Senate Chamber. But if the course

pursued by Mr. Sumner and the gross personalities with which his speech was interlarded, gave just cause of offence, the assault upon him by Mr. Brooks, a member of the lower House, is still more deserving of the severest animadversion. When Mr. Sumner so far forgot his character as a gentleman, and his position as a Senator, as to exchange invective for argument, it was obligatory on the presiding officer to compel him to confine his remarks strictly within the line of legitimate discussion; and the wide range which the debate was suffered to take must be admitted to have been partly owing to this dereliction. The conduct of Mr. Brooks cannot be justified. By inflicting chastisement upon a Senator for words spoken in debate, he has exasperated the evil he voluntarily undertook to correct, and has raised himself to the bad eminence of being the first man who has proceeded to the extreme of actual blows within a Hall which has hitherto been sacred, if not from demonstrations of violence, yet from positive collisions. An affray so disgraceful and disreputable to the parties concerned, both in its exciting cause and in the result which has grown out of it, demands that it should be taken up and dealt with in such a manner as will vindicate the outraged dignity of the Senate, and preclude the repetition of a similar offence.

From the Baltimore American.

The assault committed upon Mr. Sumner in the Senate on Thursday is an act that should be vigorously condemned by men of all parties and of every section of the country. It should neither be extenuated on the ground of the provocation given, gross as that undoubtedly was, nor be defended by those who, feeling the wrongs inflicted upon their rights by Mr. Sumner and his colleagues, can nationally have but little sympathy for the injured man. It was a gross and unmanly assault, committed upon an unarmed and unprepared man, under circumstances of peculiar outrage, and as such should everywhere be characterized and condemned. The proceedings in Congress on the subject, yesterday, indicate that it was not simply the result of impetuous passion upon the part of one individual who felt himself personally called upon to revenge the obloquy thrown upon a relative, but that it was a premeditated affair, to which other Representatives of South Carolina gave their countenance. This fact, if proved, will give additional seriousness to the outrage, and impose still more imperatively upon Congress the duty of vindicating its dignity and punishing the offenders. It should also impress upon the presiding officers of both Houses the obligation of preventing the irritating personalities which have become characteristic of one-half of the speeches delivered in the Halls. When members cease to reason, and fly to denunciation and billingsgate as a compensation for the absence of facts and feebleness of argument, the restraining power lodged in the Chair should be determinedly exercised, backed, if need be, by the presence of the Sergeant-at-arms. Neither House would refuse to support such a dignified course of conduct, and the whole country would applaud it.

From the Clarksville (Tenn.) Jeffersonian, (Dem.)

The assault upon Mr. Sumner in the Senate seems to be pretty generally condemned. No one denies that the abusive language in which he had indulged richly entitled him to a personal chastisement, but the American people do not like to see the Senate Chamber converted into a slaughter pen to kill Abolitionists in, and they look upon an attack upon a man in that place as the people of ancient times would have regarded the violation of the rights of sanctuary, or an assault upon one clinging to the horns of the altar.

From the Memphis Bulletin, (Old Line Whig.)

For twenty years, the sectional fanatics of the North have derived undue importance, and have been given increased popular strength and influence, by the rash imprudence of hot-headed Southern men. The attack on Sumner in the Senate Chamber, recently, is but another of those acts, by which, through the folly of one individual, a whole people may be compromised, and grave interests of national concernment be put in jeopardy. The meeting at Boston, of men of all parties, but too clearly shows the evil effect of such mad imprudence. Sumner, although a low, grovelling, wicked demagogue, whose character stinks in the nostrils of all national men, North as well as South, is, by this outrageous and indecent indulgence of passion by a Southern Representative, lifted up into the respectability of general sympathy. He has been made, not by his own acts, but by the foolish rage of a Southern man, a martyr in the popular mind to freedom of speech in the Senate. His assailant, by this headlong folly, has deepened and strengthened the belief created by demagogues in the Northern mind, that the South relies upon blackguard bullyism more than upon reason and argument; and has thereby swelled the ranks of the Black Republican party thousands upon thousands. It was an outrage upon the dignity and decorum of the Senate Chamber, for which there can be no excuse or justification. It was a departure from the just self-respect which Southern gentlemen are in the habit of maintaining, that no general good conduct can atone for. As a Southern man, speaking, as we believe, the sentiments of Southern men, we repudiate and condemn this assault as wholly inexcusable upon any grounds whatever, and as an offence against our system of Government which would not be too severely punished by the expulsion of its perpetrator.

That the wretched, wicked demagogue Sumner deserves no sympathy, and no respect, is plain. It is evident he has been *courting* just such means of raising himself in the regard of the fanatical crew to whose low prejudices and passions he panders, and upon which alone he lives and enjoys political consideration. It is most shameful that any portion of the American people should send such a creature to the National Legislature, to insult and goad patriotic and gray-haired men in the way he has done; but it is to be regretted that any one enjoying the character of a gentleman should have allowed himself to descend to such a level.

From the Mobile Advertiser, (Amer.)

Of course, it would not be just to judge of the affair by the imperfect account received—but if the telegraph speaks correctly, it will be very difficult indeed to find any apology, much less any justification, for the deed. It is a shock to every man's sense of right and propriety, to think of the Senate Chamber being deliberately invaded for such a purpose, and a Senator in his seat subjected to such ignominious and hostile treatment, and we sincerely hope the reports may prove to have been much exaggerated, if not wholly unfounded.

For the National Era.

BUCHANAN READ'S PAINTINGS.

Mr. Read's two paintings, *Undine* and *The Fall of the Lost Pleiad*, now on exhibition in the room of the Committee on Indian Affairs at the Capitol, have, during the past week, elicited the merited admiration of the lovers of art in our city.

The theme of *Undine* is taken from Fouque's charming story of that name. In the painting, the fair-haired, laughing-eyed water nymph, clad in a delicate robe of transparent green, is represented in the arms of the knight who has stolen her from the companions of her gambols. She looks down with child-like glee and exultation on her less fortunate sisters, apparently unconscious of the admiring gaze of the knight, who seems wholly absorbed in contemplating his lovely prize. The knight himself is a noble, stalwart figure. The flush on his manly countenance remains to tell the excitement and the effort of the capture; but now the exhilaration of success is forgotten in the ardor of an admiration as respectful and delicate as it is intense.

The Fall of the Lost Pleiad affords a wider scope than *Undine* to the artist's imagination, and is accordingly a more hazardous subject for artistic treatment. But the genius of our painter is, in one sense, able even to "bind the sweet influence of the Pleiades." In the deep space of ethereal blue, we see the dancing circle of heavenly nymphs suddenly broken by the fall of their unhappy sister, while her immediate partner, with a star of paly gold gleaming from her forehead, shading her eyes from its light, leans over, watching, with mingled grief and consternation, the fatal plunge into the fathomless abyss below.

The graceful disposition of the sylph-like figures of the sisters of the constellation, chasing their starry dance through the skies, the almost imperceptible haze that overlies the clear cerulean background of the scene, together with other more subtle effects of coloring, which are manifest to a critical inspection, charm the eye and the imagination. As we all know, the pains-taking and faithful painter is also a poet; and, in this instance at least, his pencil, in "bodying forth," as Shakspeare has it, the forms of things unknown, has snatched a grace beyond the reach of art. There is a certain poetical felicity in the conception of this painting, which, combined with the artistic completeness of its execution, would amply attest the *duality*, to use a modern technicality, of the artist's genius. It is a beautifully impressive picture, and a work of high imagination.

Mr. Read intends shortly to visit Italy again, with a view of continuing his studies in an art for the cultivation of which he has already so well qualified himself. May the future creations of his genius, with which he will again return to his native land, deserve as cordial a welcome as has been offered to *Undine* and *The Fall of the Lost Pleiad!*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Office, No. 501 Seventh street, between D and E, one square south of City Post Office.

THURSDAY, JUNE 19, 1856.

THE NATIONAL ERA FOR THE CAMPAIGN.
Extension of Time.

We will furnish the *National Era* for the Campaign, from the 1st of May, instant, to the 1st of January, inclusive, comprising thirty-six numbers of the *Era*, covering the whole period of the Presidential canvass, election, and returns, for $1 a copy, in clubs of five or more.

WHO WANTS A CHEAP DOCUMENT?

Our readers will recollect that so great was the demand for our old series of *Facts for the People*, that the surplus edition left of it, after the supply of regular subscribers, was soon exhausted.

We have now to announce that, having on hand about 3,000 copies of the first volume of *Facts for the People*, (just closed,) we have had them stitched and bound in paper, and will send them, *free of postage*, to any who may order them, for 25 cents a copy. The work forms a neat volume of 192 pages. It contains—

"A Decade of the Slave Power"—complete in ten chapters.

Dangers of Slavery Extension—Slaveholders a Privileged Class—Growth of our Negro Aristocracy—being a speech delivered by Gov. Seward, in Albany, October 12th, 1855.

The Politics of Justice, Equality, and Freedom—being a speech of Gov. Seward, delivered at Buffalo, N. Y., October 19th, 1855.

American Politics—a speech delivered by the Hon. George W. Julian.

Speech of the Hon. John P. Hale, on the President's Message, relating to Kansas.

Editorial Comments on the same Message.

History and Philosophy of the Struggle for the Speakership of the Present House of Representatives, with a classification of votes.

Letter of Francis P. Blair to the Republican Association of Washington.

Sectionalism and Republicanism—An Editorial Review of a Letter from the Hon. D. D. Barnard, of New York.

A Synopsis of the Slave Code in the District of Columbia.

Statistics of Slavery in Maryland and Missouri.

Besides all this, the volume presents a comprehensive view of the Know Nothing movement and its bearings; accounts of Kansas affairs, and of the slave cases that have arisen during the last twelve months, and a thorough discussion of the Republican movement, and the true policy of its supporters.

In no other Publication, of the same size and cost, can be found so full a history of the Anti-Slavery movement, and so thorough a discussion of its great facts, as in this cheap and convenient volume.

"REMOVE THE CAPITAL."

"Remove the Capital," say many Northern newspapers—remove it from a spot where violence is the order of the day, and public sentiment is too lax to enforce the laws for the protection of life and property. So say the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, New York *Tribune*, Cleveland *Leader*, Chicago *Tribune*; and it seems that in Albany a petition has been got up on the subject.

We are sorry to see so many good people shooting wide of the mark. Who struck Horace Greeley? A member of Congress. Who killed Keating? A member of Congress. Who beat Mr. Sumner over the head? A member of Congress. How is a removal of the seat of Government to reform the members of Congress? They bring their characters from their constituents—they do not acquire them from Washington. Suppose the People of the United States first set about the task of sending well-behaved, law-abiding Representatives to Washington. Is it fair to punish us for not possessing a virtue, they are themselves devoid of?

"But, your laws are inefficient—Public sentiment is not sound enough to enforce their execution." Why will not People take the trouble to inform themselves, before they pronounce judgment? Are not our Northern friends aware that the whole administration of justice in Washington is beyond the reach of the People here? The citizens of Pennsylvania have more to do with it than we have. The President appoints all our Judges—all our Justices of the Peace—the Prosecuting Attorney—the Marshal; and the Constables are appointed by the Court. From beginning to end, we have nothing to do with the matter. Justice Hollingshead is not our Justice—he is the President's. Judge Crawford is not our Judge—he is the President's. Are the People of Kansas responsible for the action of the Court and Marshal in that fated Territory? Do we denounce them for the acts of Judge Lecompte and Marshal Donaldson? The President's Magistrates in Washington determine the amount of bail required in any case; the President's Marshal constitutes the Grand Jury. We are not impeaching them of high crimes and misdemeanors—all we have to say is, if they abuse their functions so as to screen offenders, the People of Washington cannot help it—but the People of the United States, who, by the election of a President, determine the character and policy of the Administration, are answerable for the evil done or suffered by it.

We say these things, not only in justice to the People of Washington, but to prevent the People elsewhere, engaged in opposing Slavery, from misdirecting their efforts. It will be easier for them to overthrow a Pro-Slavery Administration, and secure a Freedom-loving President, whose officials will be imbued with his own spirit, than to remove the seat of Government. Let the Free States do their whole duty, first, in sending to Congress one hundred and forty-four Representatives, and thirty-two Senators, determined to make the Union tributary to the establishment of Justice and extension of Liberty, and next, in electing a President who will co-operate with them, to the extent of his constitutional power. If the accomplishment of all this should prove ineffectual to remedying the evils they now complain of, it would be time enough then to consider, not the question of the removal of the seat of Government, but a question infinitely surpassing that in magnitude, the question of a peaceful dissolution of the Union.

Meanwhile, why not confine ourselves to the great practical issue before us, on which there is a fair prospect of uniting the friends of Freedom, without starting new and subordinate issues, on which, at present, there is little prospect of concord?

KNOW NOTHING CONVENTION AT NEW YORK.

A Convention of Know Nothings, called by the Seceders from the National Know Nothing Convention of last February, met at New York, Thursday, 12th instant, the object being to preserve their distinctive organization, and nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, on the platform of its principles.

We present a summary of proceedings, as we find them reported in the New York papers. Delegates were present as follows: Maine, 6; New Hampshire, 5; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 6; Massachusetts, 12; New York, 33; Pennsylvania, 24; New Jersey, 7; Michigan, 5; Ohio, 7; Indiana, 1; Wisconsin, 1; California, 1; Delaware, 1; Kansas, 1; Minnesota, 1; Oregon, 1—Total, 116.

The Western States, it will be noticed, took little interest in the concern.

Judge Conrad, of Philadelphia, was chosen President, and the permanent organization of the Convention was soon completed.

Speeches full of Americanism, as it is called, and quite Anti-Slavery, abounded. The prevailing sentiment was, the perpetuation of the Order, with the Anti-Slavery sentiment superadded.

In the forenoon of the second day, E. D. Morgan, Chairman of the National Republican Committee, addressed a communication to the Convention, embodying the substance of the call issued by said Committee and of a circular sent out March 28th, and closing as follows:

"The circumstances which induced the appeal to all patriotic citizens on the 28th of March, have been greatly augmented by aggressions since perpetrated in Kansas and in the Senate of the United States.

"The central power at Cincinnati having decided to elongate substantially the present Administration, and to propitiate its policy, we can only hope to arrest these aggressions and to avenge these outrages by installing a new and just Administration.

"Nor can this object be accomplished, unless all who agree in sentiment can be brought to act for a common object. Impressed deeply with a sense of our responsibility in regard to the approaching election, I have deemed it proper, at the earliest moment after its permanent organization, to invite the attention of the American Convention to the sentiments and objects of the National Committee, as expressed in their circular at the period of their calling a People's Convention, the wisdom and importance of which being in no sense diminished at this time.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
"E. D. MORGAN,
"*Chairman National Ex. Com.*"

The circular embodied in his communication is as follows:

Circular of the National Committee appointed at Pittsburgh on the 28th of February, 1856.

"We solicit your attention to the call which has preceded this paper. It is not only to recommend to the people the immediate selection of delegates from the several States, equal in number to three times the Representatives in Congress to which each State is entitled, to meet on the 17th of June, at Philadelphia, to present such individuals as they may think best suited to uphold the cause to which they are devoted, as candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, but also to invite the members of all parties, who feel it to be the dominant issue, which should control the election, to meet at the same time and place, to confer with the Convention as to the best course to crown their common wishes with success. One of the parties which will be represented at Philadelphia has taken the name of Republican, because it was given to that founded by Mr. Jefferson, to embrace all who love the Republic. There is no Democrat who does not love the Republic. There is no Whig who does not love the Republic. There is no American who does not love the Republic. And we fondly hope, there is no naturalized citizen who does not love the Republic.

"But, it is not so important that the great movement which we desire to see successfully inaugurated shall be designated by any particular name, as it is that it shall be strong, united, and effective. Why may not all those classes who are hostile to the introduction of Slavery into free territory, unite, at this crisis of impending danger, to vote for a common ticket, which will be nominated to assert the grand principle of repressing the extension of the slaveholding monopoly, and to vindicate the rights of the people in all sections of the Union, who labor with their own hands; a ticket which will not agitate with a view to detract from the rights of the States to dispose of the subject within their limits according to the popular will, yet hold its influence to destroy the freedom of white laborers—a fit subject of investigation, with a view to repress the aggressive power in every constitutional way."

We have to remark on this communication—the National Committee was not authorized by the Convention that appointed it to make any such communication, or to adopt any measures looking to a coalition between distinct parties.

We do not believe the members of said committee authorized Mr. Morgan, the Chairman, to make any such communication; certainly the members in this District were not consulted in regard to it. As an individual, Mr. Morgan had a right to do as he pleased; he had no right to commit the Committee, or the people represented by it, to his course of policy.

We remark again: The language of that circular is unauthorized by any act or word, or intent of the Pittsburgh Convention, or by the language of the call for the Philadelphia Convention.

The call was for delegates to be elected by the People, *without distinction of party*. The circular goes beyond this, and invites the members of other parties to meet at the same time and place, to confer with that Convention on the proper course to be pursued. The call and the circular are at variance: the former disregarding the distinctions of party, the latter, recognising them, and making provision for their perpetuation; the former appealing to the People, without distinction of party, to make a nomination, the latter appealing to parties, to be represented as such, and, by conference, agree upon a nomination. By whose authority was the circular issued? If by the Committee, it nullified its own call; if by Mr. Morgan, *he* nullified the Committee's call, and substituted one of his own.

We speak plainly; for one, we are not to be set down and taken up; placed here, transferred yonder; bought, sold, traded off; without having a word to say in the matter.

We write, without knowing what is the action of the Philadelphia Convention: if right, we shall support it; if wrong, oppose it: but, right or wrong, the communication of Mr. Morgan and the circular referred to, are acts of gross usurpation, and we call attention to them now, that those whose principles and rights have been compromised by them, may take care hereafter into whose hands they place power.

To proceed with the Convention. Some of the delegates were disinclined to listen to the communication; but at last it was received and referred to a committee, headed by George Law. All of the speakers were in favor of perpetuating the Order, as a permanent Party, but were for co-operation with the Republicans.

Lieutenant Governor Ford, of Ohio, said:

"The people of the West have all a right to be heard in this election. Will you hear them? [Applause.] I did not expect to get the candidate of my particular preference, but I do expect to get an American candidate for whom I can vote. I am for free speech. [Applause.] For a free press. [Applause.] For free territory. [Cries of Good! Good!] For free men. [Applause.] And I guess I might venture to say, I am for Fremont. [Most enthusiastic applause and waving of hats, a large portion of the Convention rising to their feet, and some little time elapsed before the applause subsided, so as to allow the speaker to proceed.] I will not say that he is my first choice—I will not say that he is my individual preference. Every party in our country has put forward some emblem selected for their candidate, from the names of the trees of the forest. One has selected the hickory, another the ash. If I were to make my own choice, it would be Live Oak George. [Applause.] I do not expect during 1856 to get my individual preferences, but I will have it by and by. [Three cheers were here given for Live Oak George."]

On the third day, George Law, Chairman of the Committee, reported on the communication as follows:

"That the subjects embraced in that communication have received that consideration due to their importance in the present crisis; and the committee are of opinion that this Convention cannot appreciate too highly the suggestions of a necessity of concerted action of all the elements of opposition to the Administration now and forever, and to the candidate whose election would continue the policy of that Administration, with all its evils to the country.

"They are desirous of meeting the suggestions of the National Executive Committee, and those for whom they speak, in that spirit of candor and courtesy in which they are made, and of suggesting a course of action which should remove all cause of difference among the friends of Freedom, and which should at the same time preserve the distinctive character and principles of the great American party which we represent.

"They therefore recommend the passage of the accompanying resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That this Convention proceed to indicate, by a series of ballotings, their preference for persons to be placed in nomination for candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States.

"*Resolved*, That the persons who shall receive the votes of a majority of the members of this Convention in said balloting, for either of said offices, be declared the choice of the Convention for nominees of said offices.

"*Resolved*, That when such preference shall be ascertained by the result of said ballotings, a committee of one from each State be appointed, to confer with said proposed nominees and with the Convention that meets in Philadelphia on the 17th inst., with regard to such nomination.

"*Resolved*, That this Convention continue in session during the coming week, until said committee report.
GEO. LAW, *Chairman*.
THOS. A. JONCHES, *Sec.*

"On motion the report was unanimously adopted, and received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations."

The object is stated—to devise a plan by which the elements of opposition to the Administration can be united, and at the same time *the distinctive character and principles of the great American party be preserved*. It is a very simple one—to agree upon such men as the Know Nothing Convention deems fit for the Presidency, to appoint a committee to report the choice to the Philadelphia Convention, and obtain its ratification of the Know Nothing selection!

See, then, precisely how the thing stands. The Republican party, suspending its action as a distinct body pending the Presidential contest, invites the People, without distinction of party, that is, People of all sections, Republicans, Whigs, Democrats, Know Nothings, Anti-Know Nothings—to meet, by delegates fairly elected, in Convention, at Philadelphia, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, on the issues growing out of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and on them alone.

Delegates are accordingly chosen; but meantime, one party, unwilling to suspend its distinctive action, holds a National Convention in advance, agrees upon the men whom it will support as candidates, appoints a Committee to report its choice to the People's Convention, and to demand from it ratification—the great object being "*to preserve the character and distinctive principles of the great American party.*" In other words, the Know Nothing party of the North nominates, and the Philadelphia Convention ratifies the nomination, thus making itself a tender to Know Nothingism, delivering over all the Anti-Nebraska forces of the country to Know Nothingism, allying itself and all who follow its lead with the Know Nothing Order, and thus placing the Presidential struggle, on the Know Nothing issue, first, and the Anti-Nebraska issue as subordinate. This is precisely the condition of things, if the Philadelphia Convention accept the nominations of the Know Nothing Convention, or form a coalition with it in support of one candidate.

We write without knowing the action of the People's Convention, but we pray God that it may be preserved from a blunder, if not a crime, almost without parallel in the history of American politics. The plain duty of the Philadelphia Convention, representing the People, not any party, is to go straight forward, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left to consult any party, adopting the nominations and recommendations of no party, forming coalitions with no party, but to make its own nominations and its own platform, and then to appeal for support to God and the country.

The Convention, after the adoption of the report, proceeded to indicate by ballotings its choice of a Presidential candidate. Several names were proposed, among them that of Judge McLean by a gentleman from Pennsylvania, who preferred him because in his opinion he would unite all classes of the Opposition in that State to the Cincinnati nominee.

The Convention then proceeded to an informal ballot, with the following results: For Banks, 41; Fremont, 39; McLean, 19; Stockton, 13; Johnston 7; Chase, 4.

Maine, 6 votes—For Fremont 6.
New Hampshire, 5—For Fremont 5.
Vermont, 5—(Ruled out.)
Massachusetts, 13—Fremont 10, Banks 3.
Rhode Island, 4—Fremont 1, Johnston 3.
Connecticut, 6—Fremont 6.
New York, 35—Fremont 3, Stockton 1, Banks 31.
New Jersey, 7—Stockton 7.
Pennsylvania, 26, (not full)—McLean 14, Stockton 4, Johnston 4.
Delaware, 1—Stockton 1.
Indiana, 1—(Not present.)
Wisconsin, 3—Banks 3.
Oregon, 2—Banks 2.
Ohio, 23—McLean 4, Fremont 3, (not all called.)
California, 2—Fremont 2.
Minnesota, 3—Banks 3.
Michigan, 6—Chase 4, Fremont 2.
Kansas, 2—Fremont 1, McLean 1.
Second Ballot.—Banks, 48; Fremont, 36; Stockton, 20; McLean, 10; Johnston, 1.
Third Ballot.—Fremont, 37; Banks, 46; Johnston, 15; Stockton, 18; McLean, 2.

The Convention then adjourned to Monday morning.

It will be observed that McLean and Chase, not being Americans, were soon disposed of—Chase receiving no vote, McLean only two on the last ballot. We hope before the *Era* shall go to press, to be able to announce more satisfactory results at the Philadelphia Convention than we now anticipate.

But, "what is writ is writ." We are indignant that the magnanimous conduct of the Republican party, in suspending its distinctive action, was not imitated by the Know Nothing party; indignant that the Know Nothing Convention at New York did not patriotically resolve, that inasmuch as the Anti-Nebraska issue is the paramount issue of the present canvass, and as an Anti-Nebraska Convention had been called to nominate candidates on that issue, it would postpone any distinctive action until after the present crisis; indignant that it should, in utter disregard of the necessities of the Anti-Nebraska men in the West, and of the deep, settled convictions of hundreds of thousands of the Anti-Nebraska voters of the country, attempt to control the action of the People's Convention at Philadelphia, and allow no scope for the efforts of the friends of Freedom, except under the lead of the Know Nothing party.

A DEFINITION AT LAST—IS MR. DOUGLAS SUSTAINED? WHAT OF POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY?

In our comments, last week, on the resolutions of the Cincinnati Convention, we erred in saying that the principles of the Nebraska bill were endorsed, but not defined. On re-examining the platform, we find a positive definition, pregnant also with a negative.

It will be recollected that, ever since the passage of that bill, the Northern and Southern wings of the Democracy have taken opposite views of its "principles"—the former contending that they might all be summed up in the proposition, That the People of a Territory have the right to determine their own domestic institutions, and therefore to exclude or allow Slavery: the latter, insisting that they might all be embraced in the proposition, That neither Congress, nor the People of a Territory, has any right to interfere, for the exclusion of Slavery therefrom, or its prohibition therein. In other words, Northern Democrats asserted the doctrine of Non-Interference by Congress, but the right of Interference by the People of the Territory—while the Southern asserted non-interference both by Congress and the People.

The Richmond (Virginia) *Enquirer*, discussing the question, some time before the meeting of the Convention, said that this difference of opinion was radical, and must be settled—and that the Convention must define the "principles" of the Nebraska Bill, according to the Southern doctrine. Remember, this was the distinct question submitted for consideration to the Committee on a Platform. Now, let us see how it has been decided.

"1. The American Democracy recognise and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the 'Slavery question,' upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—NON-INTERFERENCE BY CONGRESS WITH SLAVERY IN STATE AND TERRITORY, OR IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

"2. That this was the basis of the Compromises of 1850—confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in National Conventions—ratified by the people in the election of 1852—and rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1854.

"3. That by the uniform application of this Democratic principle to the organization of Territories, and to the admission of new States, with or without domestic Slavery, as they may elect—the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact—the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate—and the perpetuity and expansion of this Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed, with a republican form of Government.

"*Resolved*, That we recognise the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without Slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States."

Examine carefully. The first resolution resolves the "principles" of the bill, into a single principle, and this is,

"NON-INTERFERENCE BY CONGRESS WITH SLAVERY IN STATE AND TERRITORY, OR IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA."

No other Principle is admitted to exist in the bill. The talk about its "Principles" must now cease. It has but one Principle, and that is so clearly defined that it is impossible to quibble about it—Congress has no right to interfere with Slavery in State and Territory, or in the District of Columbia. What has become of the Principle of "Popular Sovereignty," "Squatter Sovereignty," the "right of the People of a Territory to determine their own domestic institutions?" It is ignored—the demand of the South, announced in advance by the Richmond *Enquirer*, is complied with—Squatter Sovereignty is repudiated.

The second resolution is simply explanatory—a statement that this Principle of Non-Interference was the basis of the Compromise of 1850—confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig Parties in 1852—ratified by the People in the election of 1852—rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1854.

The third resolve expatiates on the benefits to follow the uniform application of this Principle.

The fourth is a faint attempt to propitiate the "Popular Sovereignty" tribe, but, as the intelligent reader will perceive, it contains a negative which cuts them up root and branch. It recognises the right of the People of a Territory, *when they come to form a State, under authority from Congress*, to exclude or allow Slavery; *but not their right to exclude it during their Territorial condition!*

Mark—the question at issue, first, was, are the Principles of the Nebraska Bill, "Non-Interference by Congress" *and* "Squatter Sovereignty?" The Convention answers, "Non-Interference by Congress"—this is *the* Principle of the bill, not Squatter Sovereignty. The Question next asked was, Have the People a right to exclude Slavery *during their Territorial condition?* The Convention answers, the People have a right, *when they come to form a State* "legally," that is, in pursuance of an act of Congress, to exclude Slavery. The inevitable implication is, they have no right to exclude Slavery at any other time. Both questions are decided against the Northern Democracy—it submits to the demand of the Southern Democracy—and the creed of the whole Party now is, *Non-Interference by Congress, or the People of a Territory, with Slavery therein.* This is the one Principle of the Nebraska Bill as defined by the Convention, and this underlies the Compromise of 1850, was confirmed by Whig and Democratic Conventions in 1852, was ratified by the People in the election of 1852, and was rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1854!

Mr. Buchanan accepts this Principle, "most heartily," although in 1850 he labored with all his might to induce Congress to *interfere with Slavery*, so as to exclude it from all territory above the line of 36° 30′, from the State of Missouri to the Pacific Coast, and to allow it below that line! And Mr. Douglas, too, exults over the platform, as a complete endorsement of *his* principles, when he must see that it utterly sets aside the definition of the Principle of Non-Interference, which he gave in his Nebraska bill, and which alone made that measure tolerable to his supporters. Here it is, constituting part of section 14th of the Bill:

"That the Constitution and all the laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory of Nebraska, as elsewhere in the United States, except the eighth section of the act, preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6th, 1820, which being inconsistent with the principle of Non-Intervention by Congress with Slavery in the States and Territories, as recognised by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the Compromise Measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being *the true intent and meaning of this act*, not to legislate Slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, *but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.*"

By associating State and Territory, and putting them on the same level in relation to the determination of their domestic institutions, he clearly meant to assert the right of the People of a Territory to exclude Slavery, just as the People of a State have a right to exclude it. This was his definition of the Principle of his bill—this definition is repudiated by the Cincinnati Convention—and yet he is in an ecstacy of delight, and can well forego the honor of the nomination, since the Convention has fully and emphatically endorsed him and his doctrine!

It will not do, gentlemen. Murder will out. The truth is made manifest. Practical Ruffianism in Kansas has trampled Squatter Sovereignty under foot—Doctrinal Ruffianism in the Cincinnati Convention has blotted out the very creed. For which of these acts do you give thanks, and rejoice?

ENDORSEMENT OF THE PLATFORM.

The Slavery men took care in the Convention at Cincinnati to secure the platform before they would allow the nomination to be made. The *National Intelligencer*, in an editorial on the selection of James Buchanan, decried the platform, but complimented the nominee. Mr. Buchanan will not suffer himself to be thus divorced from it. He who swallows him must gulp down at the same time the whole mass of resolves, with all their crudities, contradictions, and diabolisms. He is joined to them for better or worse; sink or swim, live or die, he abides by them.

Monday, June 9th, the Keystone Club of Philadelphia waited upon him at Wheatland, and he thus addressed them:

"*Gentlemen of the Keystone Club:* I give you a most hearty and warm welcome to my abode. I congratulate you, not upon my nomination, but upon the glorious privilege of being citizens of our great Republic. Your superiority over the people of other countries has been fully demonstrated by the conduct of a vast concourse assembled during the past week at Cincinnati. Upon any similar occasion in Europe, the voluntary expression of the people would have been drowned in martial music, and their actions controlled by an army with banners. How unlike the spectacle at Cincinnati, where delegates from the people of the different States met in Convention, under the protection of the Constitution and laws, and harmoniously deliberated upon subjects of vital importance to the country. Gentlemen, two weeks since I should have made you a longer speech; but now I have been placed upon a platform of which I most heartily approve, and that can speak for me. Being the representative of the great Democratic party, and not simply James Buchanan, I must square my conduct according to the platform of that party, and insert no new plank, nor take one from it. That platform is sufficiently broad and national for the whole Democratic party. This glorious party, now, more than ever, has demonstrated that it is the true conservative party of the Constitution and of the Union."

That will do—"plain as a pipe-stem"—no dodging, no equivocation—the monster platform, in all the length and breadth of its wickedness, completely endorsed.

M. DE LAMARTINE.

The name of Lamartine, patriot and philanthropist, poet and orator, is familiar to the People of this country; and the noble part he acted in the French Revolution of 1848 won him a high place in its affections, which he has never forfeited. Unfortunately, the Revolution involved him in pecuniary embarrassments, and these have been aggravated since then by causes beyond his control. His landed property lies in the wine-producing region of France, but the failure of the vine for five successive years having deprived his tenants of their chief support, and imposed upon him, to a great extent, the burden of maintaining them, he finds himself, now in his sixty-fifth year, encumbered with debt, and driven to extraordinary exertions to save himself from impoverishment. As one of the means of extricating himself, he proposes to issue a Monthly, entitled a "Familiar Course of Universal Literature," to continue two years, and to embrace, we suppose, at once the History and Philosophy of the Literature of the Past and Present.

This affords an occasion to the People of the United States to show their appreciation of this eminent man, in a way most agreeable to his feelings, and beneficial to themselves. Mr. J. B. Desplace, formerly one of the editors of the *Courrier de l'Europe*, of London, and a disinterested friend of Lamartine, visits this country for the purpose of bringing the subject to the attention of our countrymen. It is with him purely a labor of love. He has already been warmly welcomed by our leading literary men, and is now in Washington, for the purpose, we presume, of soliciting the kind offices of the many distinguished men here.

The following card from Mr. Desplace will more clearly explain his mission:

"Lamartine having spent his whole life in doing good to others, and in enlightening mankind by his labors, is now, in his old age, reduced to a state bordering on poverty. Although sixty-five, he rises regularly at four in the morning, and works to an advanced hour in the day, for the benefit of his creditors. The results of these labors will be embraced in a new monthly periodical, which he has just started, entitled "A Familiar Course of Universal Literature." This publication will extend over two years, and will embody the thoughts and reflections of this illustrious man—the very essence of his intellectual life.

"I have come to the United States, to make an appeal to the sympathies of the American nation on his behalf, and to get for this publication as many subscribers as possible. I have to add, that as far as I have had an opportunity of judging, from my brief intercourse with your countrymen, there is no reason to apprehend that the anticipations with which I have undertaken this mission will be disappointed. I have everywhere been received with the greatest kindness, and the most cordial disposition has been manifested to further its objects. The importance of these to M. de Lamartine will be most forcibly explained by a brief extract from his letter to Mr. Bancroft:

"'I introduce to you one of my best friends, Mr. J. B. Desplace, who, out of pure love for me, goes to America exclusively for the purpose of forwarding my interests. His success is, with me, a matter of life or death.'

"A committee is in course of formation to assist in promoting the purpose of my visit. Messrs. Bancroft, Washington Irving, W. C. Bryant, C. King, President of Columbia College, Lieutenant General Scott, and Messrs. Richard B. Kimball, and Dudley Bean, have kindly consented to act on it. Messrs. Prescott, Longfellow, Felton, and other eminent gentlemen in New York and elsewhere, for whom I have letters, or who are likely to co-operate, will be applied to for the same object. When a proper appeal to the American nation shall be drawn up by the committee, I shall go to Washington to have it signed by such Representatives and Senators of the different States as will favor me with their names, so as to make of this subscription a national instead of a local affair. There are many friends of Lamartine in the United States, who may, perhaps, be glad to know where I am located. To them, I have to state, that for the present I have taken up my headquarters in New York, at the New York Hotel.

"Begging you to accept my best thanks for the readiness which you have shown to forward the object of my mission, I remain, sir, your obedient servant, J. B. DESPLACE."

COL. BENTON'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

To the Citizens of Missouri:

I have come to the determination at this place to accept the Democratic nomination for the office of Governor of our State, induced to it by no paltry calculation of the chances of an election, but wholly and entirely upon considerations of public good. The nomination of Mr. Buchanan for the Presidency determines my course in relation to the Governorship. I consider him the safest chance for preserving the peace of the country, now greatly endangered both at home and abroad; and, believing him to be the best chance for peace, I hold it to be the duty of those who are in favor of that object to assist in his election; and, for one, I shall do so, in a public capacity, if you invest me with one, and as a private citizen of Missouri, if not.

I proceed to the State immediately, first landing at Cape Girardeau, and then proceeding to other parts of the country. Your fellow citizen,
THOMAS H. BENTON.
Cincinnati, Ohio, June 7, 1856.

CONGRESS.

The House continued last week without a quorum, adjourning over from day to day, without transacting business.

The Pacification bill, introduced by Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, on the 9th, is as follows:

A BILL to restore order and peace in Kansas.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for temporary purposes, and until Congress shall otherwise direct, the Territory of Kansas be and the same hereby is annexed to and made part of the Territory of Nebraska, and all the general laws now in force in the Territory of Nebraska, and not locally inapplicable, are hereby extended to and over the Territory of Kansas, and shall have the same force and effect therein as they now have in Nebraska Territory; and each subdivision of Kansas now known as a county, shall hereafter constitute a county of Nebraska Territory; and it shall be the duty of the Governor of the Territory of Nebraska, immediately upon the passage of this act, to cause each of said counties to be organized in accordance with the existing laws of Nebraska; and for that purpose he is hereby vested with full power and authority to appoint, temporarily, all the officers necessary to effect such organization.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That immediately upon the passage of this act, the term of service of all and every person now holding any Territorial office in said Territory of Kansas, whether by appointment of the President of the United States, or under Congressional or Territorial authority, shall cease and determine, and all books, records, and other public property, in their possession, shall immediately be delivered over to such persons as the Governor of Nebraska Territory shall appoint to receive the same; and all the acts and proceedings of any body of men heretofore assembled in the Territory of Kansas, and claiming to be a Territorial Legislature thereof, shall cease to have effect upon the passage of this act.

Mr. Douglas hoped it would be referred to the Committee on Territories. He was glad to see that the opponents of the Nebraska bill were at last beginning to acknowledge its principles.

Mr. Trumbull said, that so far from acknowledging the principle of the Nebraska-Kansas bill, he did not believe there was any principle in it. It was understood one way at the North and another way in the South. He would admit this bill to re-annex Kansas to Nebraska was not such a measure as he should prefer. He regarded the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as the cause of all the mischief, and would be glad to restore things to their former position. This was a temporary expedient, not intended to carry out his own wishes fully. He meant to occupy conservative ground upon this question, and was willing to yield something, for he was sorry to see strife in Kansas, and anxious that some measures should be immediately adopted to restore peace in that unhappy Territory.

Mr. Douglas said he was as anxious to have peace and quietness restored to Kansas as his colleague, and he was also willing to yield something; but he would yield what some of the people of Kansas refused to yield, and that was, implicit obedience to the laws of the land. If everybody would do this, there would be no difficulty in Kansas, or anywhere else.

If his colleague thought the Nebraska bill was understood differently in the North and the South, he had better read the proceedings of the Democratic National Convention. He would find that the principles of the Democratic party were proclaimed North, East, South, and West—everywhere alike—proclaimed by the unanimous vote of every State in the Union. True Democrats had no trouble in construing it, and nobody had any trouble except those who were opposed to it, and who were determined not to be satisfied with it. The principles of that bill were embodied in the Compromise measures of 1850, and confirmed by the election of Mr. Pierce in 1852.

Mr. Trumbull replied, that the thing was covered up by the Cincinnati Convention very much as it was in the Nebraska bill. The language was ambiguous, and each section understood it to suit their own views.

Mr. Trumbull's bill was referred to the Committee on Territories.

A synopsis of Tuesday's proceedings was given last week.

Wednesday, June 11, 1856.

The President of the Senate laid before that body the resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts, condemning in strong terms the outrage on Mr. Sumner. [They have already been printed in the *Era*.]

Mr. Butler said that he had given notice on a former occasion, that when the resolutions came to the Senate he would speak to them. They seemed to denote a foregone conclusion, inasmuch as they had undertaken to pronounce judgment six days before the investigation in the other House had been communicated to the public. He held it as an insulting mockery for them to ask the Senate to investigate a matter upon which they (the Legislature) had already pronounced judgment. He would say no more at present, but simply ask that the resolutions be laid on the table and printed. At the proper time he would speak to them.

The resolutions were laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Crittenden moved to take up for consideration the following resolution, submitted by him yesterday:

Whereas dangerous popular disturbances, with insurrection and obstruction to the due execution of the laws, unhappily prevailed in the Territory of Kansas; and whereas it is of great importance that the military forces which may be employed for the suppression of those insurrectionary disturbances, and for the restoration of law, peace, and protection, to the good people of the Territory, should be conducted with the greatest discretion and judgment, and should be under the command of an officer whose rank and reputation would render his services most useful and beneficial to his country in the present crisis—a crisis requiring firmness and prudence, energy and conciliation:

Be it therefore resolved by the Senate of the United States, That the President be and he is hereby requested to employ the military services of Lieut. Gen. Scott in the pacification of Kansas, and in the immediate direction and command of all the forces employed or to be employed for that purpose, under such instructions and with such authority and power as the President can and may think proper to give to and confer upon him.

Mr. Clayton, of Delaware, anticipated much benefit from the resolution. The sending of General Scott to Kansas must have the effect of calming the public mind.

Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, opposed the motion, believing that it would be an interference by the Senate with the Executive functions to advise the President, as the resolution proposed; besides, he could not see such a state of things in Kansas as to call for the extraordinary proceeding contemplated.

Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, asked Mr. Brown whether he did not credit the reports from both sides, daily received, regarding the affairs of Kansas. No Senator could doubt that affairs in that quarter demanded immediate attention.

Mr. Brown said that to a very limited extent he credited the telegraphic reports in relation to the disturbances in Kansas; but he believed that the greater portion of them were manufactured for the occasion. It had been so heretofore, and was very likely to be so now. He was not prepared to cast censure upon the course of the President; but the adoption of the resolution would be understood by the country as an expression of the opinion of the Senate that the President had not performed his duty as he ought to have done.

Mr. Toucey, of Connecticut, knew of no power in this body to act in the manner proposed, more than would be possessed by an equal number of citizens, assembled in any portion of the country. If Gen. Scott should be sent, what would he do there? We live under a Government of law; and if law is resisted, the administrative officers have the power to call out a *posse comitatus* to aid in the enforcement of the law. Was it supposed that Gen. Scott was to act in subordination of the Sheriff, as one of the *posse comitatus*? If that was the object, he did not approve of it, because it was calling upon the highest officer in the army to go there and perform a very subordinate duty in aiding the Sheriff to make arrests and bring criminals before the courts of justice. But unless that was the object, it could only be that an appeal was to be taken from the courts of justice to the military power.

Mr. Adams, of Mississippi, remarked that the President had power to recommend to Congress the enactment of such laws as he might think desirable, but he could find no power by which Congress could recommend to the President how he should perform his duties.

Mr. Mallory, of Florida, was opposed to taking up the resolution, and should vote against it in any form. It implied an indictment on the course of the President, and an indictment on the course of the officers in command of the military forces there now. He thought that if Congress should cease debating on the subject of Kansas affairs, all excitement would soon be allayed, and there would be no difficulty in restoring quiet in Kansas.

Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, was not a little surprised at the opposition which had been so unexpectedly manifested to the resolution. He had hoped for a different result. It was proposed, in the utmost simplicity of purpose, as a means by which the anarchy and bloodshed now prevailing in Kansas might probably be suppressed and ended. The proposition could do no harm, and might do good. It is very easy for gentlemen to say, that if all would obey the laws there would be no trouble; but the point was, that in consequence of the frailty of human nature, there were always some who would not yield a willing obedience to the laws. The remedy was not adequate to the disease. If all would obey the laws, there would be no need of courts, judges, sheriffs, or jails. But it was well known there were those who did not admit that these laws were of such a character as to demand their obedience. It was contended that they were fraudulently made, and therefore invalid. Hence the propriety of approaching the subject in a calm and temperate manner, so that these difficulties might be settled in the best manner.

Mr. Mallory did not wish to interfere in any manner with the duties which especially belonged to the Executive. Unless the Senate believed that the President had not done his duty, they ought not to meddle with the matter.

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, believed that everything had been done which the occasion called for, and which propriety would allow, to bring the unfortunate state of things in Kansas to an end.

Mr. Seward believed that peace would not be secured in Kansas until the people should enjoy the full and ample rights of citizenship enjoyed by the people of the organized States.

Mr. Reid, of North Carolina, argued to show that no good could result by sending Gen. Scott to Kansas.

The Senate, without concluding the subject, adjourned.

Thursday, June 12, 1856.

Mr. Hamlin. Mr. President, I rise for a purpose purely personal, such as I have never before risen for in the Senate. I desire to explain some matters personal to myself and to my own future course in public life.

Several Senators. Go on.

Mr. Hamlin. I ask the Senate to excuse me from further service as chairman of the Committee on Commerce. I do so because I feel that my relations hereafter will be of such a character as to render it proper that I should no longer hold that position. I owe this act to the dominant majority in the Senate. When I cease to harmonize with the majority, or tests are applied by that party with which I have acted to which I cannot submit, I feel that I ought no longer to hold that responsible position. I propose to state briefly the reasons which have brought me to that conclusion.

During nine years of service in the Senate, I have preferred rather to be a working than a talking member, and so I have been almost a silent one. On the subjects which have so much agitated the country, Senators know that I have rarely uttered a word. I love my country more than I love my party. I love my country above my love for any interest that can too deeply agitate or disturb its harmony. I saw in all the exciting scenes and debates through which we have passed no particular good that would result from my active intermingling in them. My heart has often been full, and the impulses of that heart have often been felt upon my lips; but I have repressed them there.

Sir, I hold that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was a gross moral and political wrong, unequalled in the annals of the legislation of this country, and hardly equalled in the annals of any other free country. Still, sir, with a desire to promote harmony and concord and brotherly feeling, I was a quiet man under all the exciting debates which led to that fatal result. I believed it wrong then; I can see that wrong lying broadcast all around us now. As a wrong I opposed that measure; not indeed by my voice, but with consistent and steady and uniform votes. I so resisted it in obedience to the dictates of my own judgment. I did it also cheerfully, in compliance with the instructions of the Legislature of Maine, which were passed by a vote almost unanimous. In the House of Representatives of Maine, consisting of one hundred and fifty-one members, only six, I think, dissented; and in the Senate, consisting of thirty-one members, only one member non-concurred.

But the Missouri restriction was abrogated. The portentous evils that were predicted have followed and are yet following along in its train. It was done, sir, in violation of the pledges of that party with which I have always acted, and with which I have always voted. It was done in violation of solemn pledges of the President of the United States, made in his inaugural address. Still, sir, I was disposed to suffer the wrong until I should see that no evil results were flowing from it. We were told by almost every Senator who addressed us upon that occasion that no evil results would follow; that no practical difference in the settlement of the country and the character of the future State would take place, whether the act were done or not. I have waited calmly and patiently to see the fulfilment of that prediction; and I am grieved, sir, to say now that they have at least been mistaken in their predictions and promises. They have all signally failed.

That Senators might have voted for that measure under the belief then expressed, and the predictions to which I have alluded, I can well understand. But how Senators can now defend that measure amid all its evils, which are overwhelming the land, if not threatening it with a conflagration, is what I do not comprehend. The whole of the disturbed state of the country has its rise in and is attributable to that act alone—nothing else. It lies at the foundation of all our misfortunes and commotions. Had it not been done, that repose and quiet which pervaded the public mind then would hold it in tranquillity to-day. Instead of startling events, we should have quiet and peace within our borders, and that fraternal feeling which ought to animate the citizens of every part of the Union toward those of all other sections.

Sir, the events that are taking place around us are indeed startling. They challenge the public mind and appeal to the public judgment; they thrill the public nerve as electricity imparts a tremulous motion to the telegraphic wire. It is a period when all good men should unite in applying the proper remedy to secure peace and harmony to the country. Is this to be done by any of us by remaining associated with those who have been instrumental in producing these results, and who now justify them? I do not see my duty lying in that direction.

I have, while temporarily acquiescing, stated here and at home, everywhere, uniformly, that when the tests of those measures were applied to me as one of party fidelity, I would sunder them as flax is sundered at the touch of fire. I do it now.

The occasion involves a question of moral duty; and self-respect allows me no other line of duty but to follow the dictates of my own judgment and the impulses of my own heart. A just man may cheerfully submit to many enforced humiliations, but a self-degraded man has ceased to be worthy to be deemed a man at all.

Sir, what has the recent Democratic Convention at Cincinnati done? It has endorsed the measure I have condemned, and has sanctioned its destructive and ruinous effects. It has done more, vastly more. That principle or policy of Territorial sovereignty which once had, and which I suppose now has, its advo-

cates within these walls, is stricken down; and there is an absolute denial of it in the resolution of the Convention, if I can draw right conclusions—a denial equally to Congress, and even to the people of the Territories, of the right to settle the question of Slavery therein. On the contrary, the Convention has actually incorporated into the platform of the Democratic party that doctrine which, only a few years ago, met nothing but ridicule and contempt, here and elsewhere, namely, that the flag of the Federal Union, under the Constitution of the United States, carries Slavery wherever it floats. If this baleful principle be true, then that national ode which inspires us always as on a battle-field should be re-written by Drake, and should read thus:

"Forever float that standard sheet,
Where breathes the foe but falls before us,
Where SLAVERY's soil beneath our feet,
And SLAVERY's banner streaming o'er us."

Now, sir, what is the precise condition in which this matter is left by the Cincinnati Convention? I do not design to trespass many moments on the Senate; but allow me to read and offer a very few comments upon some portions of the Democratic platform.

[Here Mr. Hamlin commented briefly on its resolutions.]

But, sir, I did not rise for the purpose of discussing these resolutions, but only to read them, and state the action which I propose to take in view of them. I may, I probably shall, take some subsequent occasion, when I shall endeavor to present to the Senate and the country a fair account of what is the true issue presented to the people for their consideration.

My object now is to show only that the Cincinnati Convention has endorsed and approved of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, from which so many evils have already flowed, from which, I fear, more and worse evils must yet be anticipated. It would, of course, be expected that the Presidential nominee of that Convention would accept, cordially and cheerfully, *the platform prepared for him by his party friends*. No person can object to that. As there is no equivocation on his part about the matter, I beg leave to read a short extract from a speech of that gentleman, made at his own home within the last few days.

In reply to the Keystone Club, which paid him a visit there, Mr. Buchanan said:

"Gentlemen, two weeks since I should have made you a longer speech, but now I have been placed on a platform of which I most heartily approve, and that can speak for me. Being the representative of the great Democratic party, and not simply James Buchanan, I must square my conduct according to the platform of the party, and insert no new plank nor take one from it."

These events leave to me only one unpleasant duty, which is to declare here that I can maintain political associations with no party that insists upon such doctrines; that I can support no man for President who avows and recognises them; and that the little of that power with which God has endowed me shall be employed to battle manfully, firmly, and consistently, for his defeat, demanded as it is by the highest interests of the country which owns all my allegiance.

The President. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Maine to be excused from further service on the Committee on Commerce.

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of the special order, being the bill to authorize the people of Kansas to form a Constitution and State Government, preparatory to their admission into the Union when they have the *requisite* population.

Mr. Butler then rose, and addressed the Senate at great length in reply to the remarks of Mr. Sumner of the 19th and 20th May last, and the resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts, introduced on the 11th instant, and published in the Senate's proceedings of yesterday. Mr. Butler, without concluding, gave way for a motion to go into Executive session; after which, the Senate adjourned.

Friday, June 13, 1856.

Mr. Butler resumed his remarks from yesterday, and in further apology for Mr. Brooks's attack on Mr. Sumner, said, when the Legislature of Massachusetts says that the gentleman's attack was cowardly, let them try him in any way they choose. [Applause.]

Mr. Stuart, of Michigan, said, the proprieties and amenities of the Senate were too often thus disturbed by applause; and if the galleries cannot be occupied by gentlemen, they should be cleared.

The Chair inquired whether the gentleman from Michigan moved that the galleries be cleared.

Mr. Stuart said he did not.

Mr. Fessenden, in justice to the galleries, said the applause came from the floor of the Senate.

Mr. Butler said he would go on in such a way that no one would applaud again. [Laughter.] Mr. Brooks, he continued, assaulted Sumner with no other purpose than to disgrace him. Mr. Brooks was one of the best-tempered fellows he ever knew, though impetuous, no doubt, and quick at resentment. Mr. Sumner received two flesh wounds, and, being rather handsome, did not expose himself. If he had been in the army, and had not gone out of the army the next day after the fracas, he would have deserved to be cashiered. [Laughter.] He thought that, on some accounts, it was fortunate he was not here at the time, for he did not know what he might have done. To be sure, it was thirty or forty years since he had been engaged in personal conflicts, and his hand was out of practice, [laughter,] but he did not know but he might have had a trial at him. One thing he had no doubt of, namely: If he (Butler) were a younger man, he would have left him (Sumner) in a worse condition than he now is. The New England papers, continued Mr. Butler, call this a specimen of Southern violence and Southern ruffianism; but the first Congressional fight, since the foundation of this Government, took place between two New England men—Matthew Lyon and Roger Griswold. That did not take place outside the House, but they fought with hickory sticks, spit-boxes, and tongs, all over the House of Representatives, [laughter,] when it was in session, too; but the House did not turn them out. They said, let them both go; they are disgraced enough already. [Laughter.] He then proceeded to review Mr. Sumner's speech, closing by claiming that he had convicted Mr. Sumner of proclivity to error, calumny, and misrepresentation, thus effectually turning the guns which he (Mr. Sumner) had pointed at him.

Mr. Wilson said he had listened to Mr. Butler's speech with painful emotions. More than twenty days ago, a Senator of a sovereign State was stricken down on the floor of the Senate for words spoken in debate. For more than three weeks that Senator had been confined to his room, and on a bed of pain and anguish. The moral sentiment of the country had been outraged, grossly outraged, by this assault on the freedom of debate. Intelligence of this transaction is flying abroad over the civilized world, and wherever Christianity has a foothold and civilization glows, the fact will meet the stern condemnation of mankind. The Senator from South Carolina has spent three hours and a half in vindication of and apology for an assault which is unparalleled in the history of the nation, and has commented on the present condition of Mr. Sumner in a manner not exhibiting good taste. He (Mr. Wilson) knew, personally, the comments to be grossly unjust. He knew that for three weeks Mr. Sumner had been compelled to lie on his bed from the injuries inflicted upon him.

Mr. Butler. I was delicate, and only alluded to the evidence of others.

Mr. Wilson caused to be read a note from Dr. Lindsly, dated the 12th instant, to the effect as follows:

"I have been in attendance on Mr. Sumner, as his physician, on account of injuries received, from the 29th of May to the present time—part of the period in consultation with Drs. Perry and Miller. I have visited him at least once a day. During that time, Mr. Sumner has been confined to his room, and a greater part of the time to his bed. Neither now nor since Mr. Sumner came under my charge, has he been in a condition to resume his seat in the Senate. My advice to him is, to go into the country and enjoy fresh air, and not attempt to enter on his public duties for some time to come."

Mr. Wilson, resuming, delivered a speech, which will appear hereafter in the *Era*.

Monday, June 16, 1856.

Mr. Brown submitted a resolution, which was adopted, calling on the President to communicate a copy of the instructions furnished Mr. Buchanan, when Minister to England, on the doctrine of free ships making free goods, and Mr. Buchanan's letter to Lord Clarendon on the same subject.

Mr. Clayton said it would be remembered that he had carefully abstained during the present session from uttering one word calculated to add to the excitement growing out of the present distressing occurrences in Kansas.

He had endeavored to conciliate all parties, in order that he might on some suitable occasion present a measure of harmony, justice, and peace. He now rose for the purpose of making the proposition in the sincerity of an honest heart, desiring to propitiate no particular party nor section. He would not present his bill as a partisan of any candidate for the Presidency, but, like the sailor, desired to "go in a gang by himself." He was the representative of a little State, which occupies middle ground between the Northern and Southern portions of the Confederacy.

The northern county of that State, with 50,000 inhabitants, scarcely has a hundred slaves. The southern county is as pro-slavery as Georgia. The middle county is the one which gave him birth, and is conservative, and fairly divided in opinion. But the whole of that little State is deeply anxious to preserve the Union, and prevent a rupture if possible.

He had objection to Kansas coming into the Union now as a sovereign State. One reason was, that there is not a Federal population of 20,000 persons, exclusive of Indians and others not taxable. There is a feeling in the North, which, if suffered to continue, will result in serious injury to the common Union. Hence, the necessity of something being done to allay that feeling.

He stated his objection to both Mr. Douglas's and Mr. Seward's bills, which propose the admission of Kansas into the Union; and, referring to the latest accounts from that Territory, asked: Shall we sit by, when forty men have been slain there, the excitement is daily increasing, and towns are being sacked and plundered, without endeavoring to avert this distressing and shameful condition of things? It is only by justice that peace can be restored.

Some of the laws in Kansas, Mr. Clayton said, are palpably unjust and unconstitutional, which it was the duty of Congress to repeal. One of them proclaims that no man shall vote until he swears to support the Fugitive Slave Law. He repeated that it was unjust and cruel towards one section of this Union, and was insulting to any honorable man. It was a dangerous and unexampled precedent, and contrary to the Nebraska bill, which he proceeded to show.

Another law of Kansas denies to any man the right to speak or print against the existence or legality of Slavery in that Territory, and punishes those thus infracting the statute with hard labor in the penitentiary for not less than two years. It does not say how many more, and this shows the disgraceful character of the act.

Mr. Clayton then submitted his bill, supplementary to the act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas. It provides that the Secretary of State shall cause a census to be taken, making one thousand persons the basis for one Representative, and two thousand for a member of the Council of the Territory. Legal voters must be *bona fide* residents three months before the election, and one month resident in their respective election districts.

After the census and apportionment, the Governor is to issue his proclamation, directing the election of members of the Legislative Assembly, to be held not less than fifty nor more than sixty days after the date of the proclamation. No law shall remain in force, violative of the great principle asserted in the Kansas and Nebraska bill, relative to non-intervention on the Slavery question; or whereby the people shall be prohibited from advocating or denying the extension or propriety of prohibiting Slavery in the Territory; or visited or threatened with any penalty or punishment; nor shall any test oath be required, relative to the Fugitive Slave Act or other law of Congress.

Trial by jury as at common law, and no challenge or objection to a juror shall avail, which is not authorized by the rules of the common law, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding. The bill also provides, that when the Territory shall contain 93,420 inhabitants, the people shall be authorized to call a convention for the formation of a State Constitution.

The morning hour expired before any further action upon the subject was had.

Mr. Adams made a speech in support of his bill proposing to extend the term of naturalization to twenty-one years; and to exclude foreign criminals and paupers; and to prevent these and European serfs from controlling the elections, and thus perilling our liberties. The South are more interested on this subject than the North, which he essayed to prove by reference to statistics. He maintained that this question rises above mere party.

Mr. James presented the resolutions of the Legislature of Rhode Island, condemning the assault on Mr. Sumner, which gave rise to debate. He said he should defend, here and elsewhere, if need be, the freedom of debate.

Messrs. Brown and Reid opposed the printing of the resolutions.

The Senate then adjourned till Thursday.

MURDER AND LYNCH LAW IN CALIFORNIA.

New Orleans, June 11.—The steamship Daniel Webster has arrived from San Juan, 6th instant, with San Francisco dates to the 21st ultimo. Her advices are highly interesting.

Great excitement prevailed in San Francisco. A man named Casey shot James King of William, editor of the *Bulletin*, in the street. Casey was promptly arrested, and committed to jail. This occurred on the 14th ultimo.

On the 16th Mr. King died, and great excitement ensued. The old vigilance committee called a meeting, and placards of an inflammatory nature were posted about the city, calling on the citizens to take the law into their own hands.

On Sunday, the 18th, three thousand citizens, completely organized into divisions and companies, and armed with muskets, marched by three streets from the committee rooms, took possession of the jail, and from thence took Casey and the gambler Cora, and carried them to the committee rooms, where they remained closely guarded at the sailing of the steamer.

It was supposed they would be hung.

The whole city was draped in mourning for the death of Mr. King, who was highly esteemed. He was a native of Georgetown, D. C.

Casey was formerly an inmate of Sing Sing prison, the statement of which in Mr. King's paper caused the difficulty.

The vigilance committee was fully organized throughout the State, and was said to have $75,000 with which to carry their measures into effect.

All the gamblers were to be driven from the State.

The committee have plenty of arms and ammunition. Their proceedings have been characterized by the most perfect order and propriety.

There is no other news of importance from California.

The steamship George Law, for New York, has nearly two millions in specie.

All was quiet in Nicaragua. Gen. Walker had removed his headquarters to Leon. There was some sickness among the troops.

"NORTH AMERICAN" CONVENTION.

NEW YORK, *June* 16, 1856.

The New Jersey delegation to the American Seceders' Convention withdrew, on the plea that the party had been sold out to the Republicans. A delegate from Pennsylvania offered a resolution endorsing Mr. Fillmore, but the Chair refused to receive it. Ex-Governor Johnston made a speech deprecating the dissensions, and denying that the Convention had sold out to any faction. A portion of the New York delegation also threatened to leave.

A LATER DISPATCH.

NEW YORK, *June* 16, 1856.

After six unsuccessful ballots to-day, N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts, and William F. Johnston, of Pennsylvania, were nominated for President and Vice President, by acclamation. The Convention then passed strong Anti-Nebraska resolutions.

Previous to the final vote, a portion of the delegates withdrew, and nominated Robert F. Stockton, of New Jersey, and Kenneth Rayner, of North Carolina, for President and Vice President.

The Seceders were the New Jersey delegation entire, and about five others from New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, who were joined by self-appointed delegates from other States. Various speeches were made, and they adjourned until to-morrow.

The regular Convention adopted resolutions in favor of free territory, &c., and appointed a committee to confer with the Republicans at Philadelphia, and adjourned until to-morrow.

PENNSYLVANIA REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 16, 1856.

This afternoon, the Convention approved the State ticket of the Union Convention. They then appointed delegates at large to the National Convention, adopted resolutions recommending the said delegates to vote for McLean and Fremont, and adjourned to meet again after the adjournment of the latter.

THE WAR IN KANSAS.

Letter of President Pierce to Colonel Sumner.

The *Kansas Herald* extra of the 3d of June contains the following copy of a telegraphic despatch from the President to Col. Sumner, of the U. S. army. The document was furnished for publication by J. B. Donaldson, the U. S. Marshal:

WASHINGTON, *May* 23, 1856.

To Col. E. V. Sumner, Fort Leavenworth:

I have just sent by telegraph to Gov. Shannon a despatch, of which the following is a copy:

"Since my telegraph of this morning was sent, the Secretary of War has laid before me Col. Sumner's letter to you of the 12th instant. This suggestion strikes me as wise and prudent; and I hope that before this reaches you, decisive measures will have been taken to have process in the hands of the Marshal quietly executed.

"My knowledge of facts is imperfect; but, with the force of Col. Sumner at hand, I perceive no occasion for the posse, armed or unarmed, which the Marshal is said to have assembled at Lecompton. The instructions issued to yourself and Col. Sumner during your last visit to this city must be efficiently executed. Sufficient power was committed to you, and you must use it.

"Obedience to the laws, and consequent security of the citizens of Kansas, are primary objects. You must repress lawless violence in the Territory, in whatever form it may manifest itself. FRANKLIN PIERCE."

Another Call to the Missourians.

The Lexington (Mo.) *Express* of the 3d inst. contains the following despatch, "handed to it for publication by several responsible gentlemen:"

WESTPORT, *June* 2, 1856.

GENTLEMEN: A messenger, reliable and trustworthy, has just arrived from Capt. Pate, of the Lawrence Sharpshooters, stating that he is in great danger, and surrounded. He has several prisoners. John Donaldson has been killed. Foreman and four others are taken prisoners by the Abolitionists, and before this they are probably murdered. Whitfield starts to-night for Hickory Point, the place of the last massacre, to aid our men, or die.

Respectfully, C. E. KEARNEY,
HENRY F. HEREFORD,
A. S. JOHNSON,
J. BUFORD.

To Col. Anderson, Capts. Shelby, Trigg, Walton, Sawyer, and E. Windsor.

St. Louis, June 10.—The Independence (Mo.) correspondent of the St. Louis *Republican*, writing under date of June 5, says Marshal Donaldson and four men, who had been discharged from official duty, were killed near Hickory Point on the 3d instant. The Marshal was in the act of arresting some of the men who had attacked Captain Pate's company. After the surrender of Pate's company, the Free-Soilers commenced the work of destroying houses, and driving men, women, and children, from their houses, near Bull Creek. One hundred and fifty men, under Captain Reed, left New Santa Fé in pursuit of the marauders, but Colonel Sumner arrived at Black Jack in time to prevent a conflict. It is reported that Franklin was not taken, though attacked by a large party of Abolitionists.

Governor Shannon issued a proclamation on the 4th, commanding all persons belonging to military companies unauthorized by law to disperse, otherwise they would be dispersed by force of the United States troops. The proclamation requires all civil officers of the Government to be vigilant in enforcing the laws against offenders, and protecting the property and persons of all law-abiding citizens. The proclamation further says that all aggressive parties outside of the Territory will be repelled; that the military force under the control of the Executive is ample to enforce the laws and protect the rights of citizens. The proclamation of President Pierce, of February 11, is appended, and notice given that it will be strictly enforced. A requisition has been made on Colonel Sumner for a sufficient force to insure obedience to the proclamation.

Chicago, June 10.—The *Democratic Press* has a letter from Lecompton, June 4, giving details of the skirmish with Captain Pate's company. The account states that thirty Southerners, proceeding from Westport to Bull Creek, under command of Pate, encountered about the same number of Free State men. Pate had a number of Free State prisoners, whom he arranged in front as a shield. Then his company fell back under cover of the unarmed prisoners, and hid behind logs and trees. The Free State men then dropped down in the grass, and a scattered firing was kept up for two hours, till Pate surrendered unconditionally. Three Missourians of Pate's party escaped—among them Coleman, the murderer of Dow. The Free State party took thirty horses, a number of Sharpe's rifles and United States muskets, besides a quantity of goods stolen at Lawrence.

A party of Pro-Slavery men, including a son of Governor Shannon, made a night attack on the house of Captain Walker, five miles from Lecompton, but they were repulsed, and young Shannon taken prisoner. He was released on the following day, after which Shannon took a company of United States dragoons, and spent two days in searching the houses of Free State men, taking possession of all the arms and ammunition which could be found.

P. M.—A man who has just arrived here from Kansas City says a general rendezvous of Pro-Slavery men is at Bull Creek, preparatory to another attack on Lawrence. General Whitfield is to command. They expect to concentrate six hundred men before starting. The men are mostly furnished with United States muskets. The Free State men are deficient in arms and provisions. It is rumored that Donaldson and other Pro-Slavery men were killed in a fight among themselves, at Franklin—the difficulty growing out of the distribution of goods stolen at Lawrence.

Exciting News from Kansas.

Chicago, June 11.—Later arrivals from Kansas confirm the reports of civil war in the Territory. Twenty-one Missourians, Carolinians, and Alabamians, have been killed in different engagements. Several Free State men have been wounded, but none killed. The United States troops generally dispersed the belligerents after the battles were finished.

Gov. Shannon's proclamation produced no effect. Robinson has been removed from Lecompton to Leavenworth. The report of the death of Marshal Donaldson was incorrect. Considerable bodies of men were moving from Independence, Westport, and other towns, for the Territory. A party left Lexington on Saturday, for Hickory Point or Lawrence, and a general battle was shortly expected.

Later from Kansas.

St. Louis, June 12.—A letter to the *Democrat*, from Lawrence, 6th inst., states that Mr. Upton, Sergeant-at-arms of the Congressional Committee of Investigation, was detained prisoner a day by Buford's men. Whitfield's command of 300 men, encamped near Prairie City, were ordered to disperse by Col. Sumner. They did so, but re-formed, and a strong company of United States troops were watching and ready to intercept their movements. The Independence correspondent of the *Republican* says that the Missourians will not endure the Investigating Committee long, saying that forbearance ceases any longer to be a virtue.

Persons from Kansas City report that a collision between Gen. Whitfield's men and the United States troops was imminent. The former had threatened to hang Col. Sumner for ordering them to leave the Territory.

More Violence—Towns Sacked—Result of the Congressional Investigation.

St. Louis, June 12.—Later intelligence from Kansas brings accounts of further acts of violence. Ossawotomie, a Free State town, has been sacked by a mob Georgians, under the lead of Whitfield. Palmyra, another Free State town, has also been sacked.

The Free State men were again organizing to resist the Pro-Slavery men. Gov. Shannon had gone to Fort Leavenworth.

Messrs. Howard and Sherman, of the Congressional committee, arrived at St. Louis to-day. Mr. Oliver stopped at Richmond.

The committee will go from here to Detroit, where they will stop a few days. The investigation of the committee proved that out of 5,500 votes cast at the Legislative election in March, 1855, only 1,100 were legal.

Chicago, June 12.—The Chicago *Tribune* has a letter from Camp, Coal Creek, Kansas June 5, stating that 200 Missourians crossed the river on the Sunday previous, and a battle was expected on the next day; but the report that Col. Lane, with a large force, was one day's march from Lawrence, so terrified the guerilla party, that they instantly re-crossed the river to Platte county.

Three hundred Free State men were encamped near Whitfield's company, watching his movements, and ready to give him trouble. The presence of Col. Sumner's company up to the present time has prevented a fight.

Proclamation of Governor Shannon.

It will be seen by the subjoined proclamation that the despatch of the President of the United States to Col. Sumner, dated the 23d of May, (published in the *Intelligencer* of Thursday,) has had a salutary effect in Kansas. It conveyed a very proper rebuke to the Marshal for the premature employment of irresponsible armed men in executing civil process. Gov. Shannon appears now to have taken a step in the right direction to restore peace to the Territory. If he shall rigidly enforce the injunctions of this proclamation, expel "all aggressive parties from without the Territory," and so execute the laws that "no distinction be made as to party," then mischief may be arrested, and reason and justice obtain supremacy.—*National Intelligencer.*

Whereas information has been received by us that armed bodies of men exist in different parts of this Territory, who have committed, and threaten to commit, acts of lawless violence on peaceable and unoffending citizens, taking them prisoners, despoiling them of their property, and threatening great personal violence:

It appearing also that armed combinations have been formed for the avowed purpose of resisting the execution of the Territorial laws, and preventing the execution of any process by the officers of this Territory:

It appearing further that individuals, as well as associated bodies of men, have assumed to themselves the power of notifying citizens of the Territory to leave their abodes, and, in some instances, to quit the country, under threats of inflicting severe penalties on those who do not comply:

Now, therefore, I, Wilson Shannon, Governor of the Territory of Kansas, do issue this my proclamation, to command all persons belonging to military organizations within this Territory, not authorized by the laws thereof, to disperse and retire to their respective abodes, and to warn all such persons that these military organizations for such purposes are illegal, and, if necessary, will be dispersed by the military force placed by the President of the United States at my disposal, for the purpose of preserving the peace and enforcing the laws of the Territory; that steps have been taken to disperse all unlawful military organizations which are threatening the peace of the country and the good order of society, and to disarm them should they reassemble.

All civil officers of the Government are required to be vigilant in enforcing the laws against such offenders, and in protecting the citizens both in their persons and property against all violence and wrong.

I further declare that all notices given to citizens or persons found in the Territory to leave the same or their houses, or any particular locality, are unauthorized by law and highly reprehensible, as tending to breaches of the peace and violence and disorder.

I further declare that all law-abiding citizens of the Territory, without regard to party, names, or distinctions, must be protected in their persons and property, and that all military organizations to resist the execution of the laws of the Territory, or to disturb the peace thereof, must be dispersed; and all aggressive parties from without the Territory must be repelled; that the military force placed under the control of the Executive of this Territory is amply sufficient to enforce the laws, and to protect the citizens in their rights.

I further declare, that in carrying out this proclamation, no distinction or inquiry is to be made as to party, but all persons of all parties are to be treated alike under like circumstances.

"Obedience to the laws, and consequent security of the citizens of Kansas, are primary objects; and all lawless violence within the Territory, in whatever form it may manifest itself, must be repressed," and the proclamation of the President of the United States, of the 11th February last, will be strictly enforced; and a requisition has been made on Colonel Sumner for a sufficient military force to insure obedience to the proclamation.

I call on all good citizens to aid and assist in preserving peace, repressing violence, and in bringing offenders to justice, and in maintaining the supremacy of the law.

[L. S.] In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the Territory to be affixed, this 4th day of June, 1856.

WILSON SHANNON.

By the Governor:
DANIEL WOODSON, *Secretary.*

From the Independence (Mo.) Messenger of June 7.

There is no use in disguising the fact that our border counties are upon the eve of emptying themselves into the Territory of Kansas, and declaring a war of extermination against those Abolition outlaws. The patience of our people is almost exhausted, and their powers of endurance well-nigh crushed, under the accumulated and burning atrocities to which many of their friends and relations are subjected.

The proclamation of Governor Shannon was brought to this city by the Hon. John Donaldson. Who can look at the whole course of the Governor, and say that he is a friend of the South? He is doing the South more injury than Reeder, or the whole Freedom-shriekers at the North.

From the St. Louis Democrat, of June 10.

A private letter received in this city, dated Westport, June 5th, states that "upwards of six hundred men are encamped within ten miles of that place, and will march to-morrow (6th) to meet the Free Soil party."

We also learn from another source that reports prevailed of the murdering of men, both Free Soil and Pro-Slavery; and that active preparations were making for conducting the affair on a more extensive plan than has heretofore been adopted.

The steamer Converse came down last evening from the Upper Mississippi. Among her passengers was Dr. Stringfellow. There was nothing of importance from Kansas; but the excitement continues intense, and startling news might be anticipated in a few days.

From the Cincinnati Times, of June 11.

We have just had a conversation with J. A. Parker, Esq., Land Register at Nebraska City, and now on his way to Washington. He reports affairs in Kansas as in a most lamentable condition. Mr. Parker left Kansas City on Sunday last, and arrived in this city this morning. He says that fighting was still going on in almost every portion of the country. Orders had been issued by Gov. Shannon for Colonel Sumner to proceed to disarm all parties that he might find assembled together for unlawful purposes.

Col. Sumner had departed, at the head of six companies of United States troops, to fulfil the order, but no news had been received concerning him by Mr. Parker, up to the time he left.

At Leavenworth City the greatest excitement prevailed. Meetings of both Free State and Pro-Slavery men had been hourly held all the day of Saturday, and threats of violence used towards each party by the opposers. On Saturday evening, bulletins were issued by each party, warning the other to leave.

Sunday evening, Mr. Parker met a considerable force of U. S. troops, just arrived in the Territory, who were on their march to Fort Leavenworth. This gentleman reports that the excitement, previously sufficiently great, was hourly increasing; and he expressed his opinion that the military force in the country is far inadequate to what is really needed to restore any degree of peace. Each party is incensed to the greatest degree, and will listen to nothing like concession. Newspapers were issuing extras all along the border, furnishing accounts more or less aggravating and exaggerated.

Later—Another Town destroyed.

St. Louis, June 12.—Advices from Palmyra, under date of June 9th, mention that Ossawattomie was attacked and plundered on the 7th, by an army of 160 men. These were the men who had come up to Palmyra, under General Whitfield, mostly from Westport, Independence, and Lexington. The United States troops disbanded the Free State parties that went out to meet these Missourians as they came up.

Twenty-five houses were plundered in Ossawattomie, and sixteen horses taken. A printing-office was destroyed; and, after all was done, some of the party started for Westport with their booty; the remainder went some miles south, and camped. The Free State parties actual residents are closely watched, disbanded, and, in some cases, disarmed.

The mail from Lawrence to Westport was robbed by "law and order" men last Friday. They have been pillaging so, that it is unsafe to come up the Westport road. No one should land at Kansas City, but all should go to Leavenworth. At least a dozen teamsters and horsemen have been robbed on the roads leading from Westport into the Territory, within a few days. That road is infested with "law and order" camps.

Ossawattomie Destroyed—Robberies by the Border Ruffians.

Special Dispatch to the New York Tribune.

PALMYRA, *June* 9, 1856.

The town of Ossawattomie was attacked and plundered by the Border Ruffians on the 7th instant. Their force consisted of one hundred and sixty-three men, who had come up to Palmyra under the lead of General Whitfield. They were mostly from Westport, Independence, and Lexington, in Missouri.

The United States troops disbanded the Free State men who had gone out to meet these Missouri invaders, so there was no adequate force to make resistance.

Twenty-five houses were plundered in Ossawattomie, and sixteen horses stolen. The gallant invaders went so far as to steal ear and finger rings from the wives and daughters of the Free State settlers.

Among other exploits, they destroyed the materials of a printing office, after which some of the party started for Westport with their booty. The remaining portion went to a place a few miles to the south, where they encamped.

Free State men, many of whom are actual settlers, are closely watched, and wherever organized, are at once disbanded, and in some instances disarmed.

On Friday last, the "law and order" men robbed the mail in transit from Lawrence to Westport. In fact, their thirst for pillage is so strong, that it is unsafe to come up the Westport road. At least a dozen horsemen and teamsters have been robbed within a few days, on the route from Westport to Kansas Territory. No one should land at Kansas City, but go at once to Leavenworth.

Mr. Upton, Sergeant-at-arms of the Congressional Investigating Committee, was captured by the Border Ruffians, on the Westport road. They were fierce for hanging him, but Mr. Oliver, the Missouri member of the Committee, after considerable effort, procured his release. A man named Brooks had a load of flour stolen.

The body of a Free State man has been found near where Whitfield's men encamped. He had been pierced with three bullets. Another Free State man was gagged and bound, and left on the prairie to perish. Outrages of a kindred nature are of frequent occurrence.

The Government troops have arrested the victorious career of the Free State men.

St. Louis, June 12.—Messrs. Howard and Sherman, of the Congressional Investigating Committee, arrived from Kansas to-day. They are at Barnum's Hotel. Mr. Oliver stopped at Richmond.

The Committee were at Westport, Missouri, eight days. While there, large parties of armed men, from different parts of Missouri, marched through in guerrilla parties into the Territory, and were engaged in robbing, killing, and driving out the settlers.

Gov. Shannon testified there before the Committee. As he entered the town from the Territory, a company of sixty armed Missourians were marching into the Territory from Westport.

Gov. Shannon went to Kansas city with the Committee, and while there saw, without comment, a party of Clay county men cross the river, and proceed into the Territory, led and well armed.

The Committee have been quiet, but very searching in their investigation. They go to Detroit, to remain for several days. The testimony given is said clearly to prove, that of the five thousand five hundred votes given at the Legislative election in March, 1855, only eleven hundred were cast by actual residents, and of these the names of but eight hundred appear in the census report.

The Territory is now convulsed with civil war, to sustain laws based on this election.

Col. Sumner is out with United States troops to preserve order. He dispersed several hundred men under Gen. Whitfield, but they reassembled on the 6th inst., and sacked the town of Ossawattomie.

The Free State men are organizing for self-defence.

Gov. Shannon has gone to Fort Leavenworth.

Mr. Howard, of the Kansas Commission, and Messrs. Hanscomb, Lord, Townsend, and Upton, officers of the Commission, arrived this evening, on the steamer Polar Star, from Kansas. They start for the East to-morrow. When they left, large bodies of Missourians were pouring into the Territory, determined on fighting, and Free State men were mustering, equally anxious for battle.

Chicago, June 12.—Persons just arrived from Kansas city, on Monday evening, state that Col. Sumner ordered Gen. Whitfield's army to leave the Territory on Saturday, when the whole number, four hundred, left, and went to Westport, where they were re-enforced by one hundred and fifty Missourians, and returned on Sunday, threatening to hang Col. Sumner if they caught him. A collision between the United States troops and Whitfield's party was expected, unless the latter changed their purposes.

Later from Kansas.

St. Louis, June 14.—A letter dated the 8th inst., from Lawrence, discredits the report of the hanging of Gov. Robinson, who is at Lecompton, guarded by United States troops. In the battle which occurred at Franklin, two Pro-Slavery men were killed, and in the battle at Palmyra, five of the Pro-Slavery party were killed and several wounded. Three Free-Soilers were wounded. It is reported that the mails were searched at Franklin. The report that J. M. Barnard had been killed, proves to be false.

Aid for Kansas Settlers.

Boston, June 11.—The Kansas Aid Committee have received, up to the present time, about $10,000 in cash contributions, including $500 from Josiah Quincy, sr. The committee in Worcester have collected $5,000.

Aid for Kansas.

Cleveland, June 13.—A call, signed by the officers of the Aid Societies of New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Ohio, has been published here, asking that a Convention be held at Columbus on the 20th, and that the delegates from the different Aid Societies adopt measures for the relief of emigrants, and the preservation of law and order in Kansas.

The Troubles in Kansas.

The St. Louis *Democrat* of the 13th instant contains a variety of late intelligence from Kansas, from which we make the following extracts:

Messrs. Howard and Sherman, of the Kansas Investigating Committee, arrived in this city yesterday. Mr. Oliver, of the same Committee, accompanied them as far as Richmond, (Mo.,) where he left them. The Committee were in Westport eight days. During their stay at these places, numerous bands from different parts of Missouri were making incursions into the Territory, and were engaged in arresting and driving out the settlers. Gov. Shannon had been summoned to testify before the Committee, and had appeared in Westport for the purpose. As he came in from the west, a company of armed Missourians entered the Territory from the east, without exciting the least attention. Shannon went to Kansas City with the Committee, and while he was there, a company from Clay county (Mo.) crossed the river on their way west, mounted and equipped for war.

The Committee have been pushing their investigation very quietly, but at the same time thoroughly. They go from this to Detroit, where they will remain several days. It is said that the testimony before them clearly proves that *only eight hunured and fifteen* of those whose names were on the census voted at the Legislative election on the 30th of March, 1855, and that not over eleven hundred of those who voted made any pretensions to residence in the Territory. The whole vote cast was *five thousand five hundred.*

We learn, by passengers who arrived here yesterday on the steamer Polar Star, that the excitement in the Territory is increasing, and that a field battle probably took place on Tuesday or Wednesday, as on Monday and Tuesday morning an unusual number of Missourians from Clay and Lafayette counties entered Kansas, declaring their intention to have a fight, and the Free State men are known to be quite as anxious.

FOUR DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

New York, June 13.—The steamship Ericsson (chartered by the Collins company in place of the lost Pacific) has arrived. She left Liverpool on the afternoon of the 28th ultimo.

The news is of an unimportant character. In the British House of Lords, the Earl of Elgin had moved for the despatches relative to the sending of troops to Canada. A discussion ensued, when the Earl of Clarendon expressed good feelings towards the United States, but reiterated the determination of the Government not to recall Mr. Crampton. He said that Great Britain had made the amplest apology to the United States for the recruiting transactions, but she could not consent to the recall of Mr. Crampton. The offer had been made by the Government to refer the Central American question to arbitration, but it had not yet been accepted. Great Britain was animated by most friendly feelings towards the United States, and this would be admitted by them. Notwithstanding this, language had been used in Congress, which, if used in Great Britain, would have been denounced as tending to embroil the two countries; and, finally, that if, as Lord Elgin had stated, five minutes' conversation between Mr. Marcy and himself would suffice to settle the business, he would willingly meet him midway in the Atlantic Ocean.

Dr. Palmer, the poisoner, had been found guilty, and sentenced to death.

A new Russian loan is spoken of—part to be offered in London, and part in Hamburg.

The Italian question continues unsettled. It was rumored that the Pope proposes a Congress of Italian Sovereigns in Rome, with plenipotentiaries from France and Austria.

Denmark is putting her fleet in an effective state.

The Spanish Government were taking energetic measures against Mexico.

Napoleon was considering a scheme for founding a territorial nobility in Algeria.

THREE DAYS LATER.

Excitement in England Touching American Affairs—The Recognition of Nicaragua.

New York, June 13.—The steamer Arabia arrived here this evening, with Liverpool dates to Saturday, the 31st ult.

The steamer City of Baltimore arrived out on the 28th, and the steamer Glasgow on the 30th.

The news by this arrival is quite interesting. The public mind in England had again been excited in regard to the aspect of American relations.

Great Britain.—Excitement on American Affairs.—The news of Padre Vijil's recognition following so closely on Lord Clarendon's amicable advances, increases the excitement in regard to American affairs. It is rumored that Lord Elgin will go as Plenipotentiary to Washington, as the last chance of averting war.

The London *Times*, in reference to the recognition of Vijil, says:

"It seems as if the demands on one side, and concessions on the other, have reached the utmost limit," and suggests that the United States send to London a special Ambassador, or accredit the present Minister with plenipotentiary powers, to settle the dispute amicably.

On the 29th, the bank of England reduced its minimum rate of discount to five per cent.

The arrangements for the British deputation to attend the Czar's coronation have been completed. The Earl of Granville heads the company.

Mr. and Mrs. Dallas and Mr. Philip Dallas attended the Queen's drawing-room reception.

Mr. Dallas had been invited to dine with the Judges, at the Lord Mayor's, but declined, in consequence of business with Lord Clarendon.

Prussia.—A letter dated from Berlin says that there is a strong party in Prussia desirous that that Government, instead of following the example of Russia and Sweden in regard to the capitalization of the Sound Dues, may take the same course adopted by the United States.

Russia.—The new Russian loan is said to be one hundred million silver roubles, bearing 4 per cent. interest. The loan is principally intended for the construction of railroads in the interior, and partly for the payment of the Danish indemnity for the capitalization of the Sound Dues.

Spain.—Spain is fitting out a fleet for operations against Mexico.

MARKETS.

Liverpool, May 31.—Cotton.—The market has recovered from the previous decline. Sales of the week, 40,000 bales; sales to-day, 8,000 bales, the market closing firm.

Breadstuffs.—The weather has been favorable for agricultural purposes, and the market for breadstuffs is dull, with a declining tendency. To-day prices are unchanged, with a limited business doing. Wheat has declined 2*d*. Red 9*s*. @ 10*s*.; white 9*s*. 9*d*. @ 10*s*. 10*d*. Flour has declined 1*s*. Western canal 32*s*. @ 31*s*.; good Ohio, Straight, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, 34*s*. 6*d*. @ 35*s*. 6*d*. Corn has declined 6*d*. Southern white 28*s*. 6*d*. @ 29*s*. 6*d*.; Northern 29*s*. @ 29*s*. 6*d*.; mixed 28*s*. 6*d*. Buyers demand a further reduction.

Provisions.—The market is unchanged in every respect.

THE LATEST.

Liverpool, May 31.—It is rumored to-day that Lord Elgin will be sent as minister plenipotentiary to Washington, for the adjustment of the Central American difficulty. Another rumor says that Sir Henry Bulwer will be the envoy.

LATE EUROPEAN INTELLIGENCE.

Philadelphia, June 17.—The Liverpool and Philadelphia Steamship Company's screw steamer City of Baltimore has arrived, with Liverpool dates of the 4th inst.

The news of Mr. Crampton's dismissal had not then reached England, but the London press comments very freely on rumors of its probability. The *Times* says:

"It may be expected; but considering how much England has borne, she may well allow this to pass over with the rest; but within a fortnight after Mr. Crampton ceases to represent England at Washington, Mr. Dallas will no longer exercise his functions at the Court of St. James." In its issue of the 3d, it says: "Recent intelligence from the United States leaves but little doubt that the Government of Gen. Pierce will not stop short in the course in which he has embarked, but will follow up the reception of the Minister of Gen. Walker, by a dismissal of the Minister of Queen Victoria. The same electioneering necessities which make the representative of a lawless freebooter a fit guest and companion for the Chief Magistrate of a Christian and well-educated Republic, have decreed that, in spite of our earnest wish to atone for the offence we have unintentionally given, and, restricting ourselves within our own rights, we wait with patience to see whether the objects of the American Government may not be satisfied by something short of the last extremity."

The *Daily News* says it has reason to believe that Mr. Crampton had already reached Toronto, but doubts whether England should send Mr. Dallas home.

The Esk and Archer, screw steamers, have been ordered to Halifax, from Plymouth.

The report of the money market, dated at London, on the evening of the 3d inst., says: "Consols have declined ⅛, being quoted 94⅜ @ 94½ for money. The funds are weak, and closed at a fractional decline. The American question in its newest phase induces much uneasiness, and entirely neutralizes every influence of a favorable nature. Money rates are from four to five per cent., but the demand is not great."

The *Times* does not consider the dismissal of Mr. Crampton and of Mr. Dallas as by any means implying a state of war, or even a necessary prelude to that calamity. The *Post* deprecates any party struggles in Parliament on the disputes with America, as speeches thereon may aggravate present difficulties. The *Daily News* does not believe that war will ensue.

P. S. Brooks is named by the Charleston *Standard* for Governor of South Carolina.

THREE DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

Halifax, June 18.—The Cunard steamship America, from Liverpool on the 7th instant, arrived at this port this morning.

Her advices, though three days later than those by the Arago and City of Baltimore, are not of much importance. The main feature of them, as in the case of the steamers mentioned, consists of the effect produced in London by the dismissal of Mr. Crampton.

There was much talk respecting the American difficulty, but it was nothing more than gossip.

It had been published in the London papers that Mr. Crampton was dismissed, but the announcement scarcely affected the funds.

THE MARKETS.

The last advices from the United States had depressed the Liverpool cotton market, and prices were slightly lower. Sales of the week about 50,000 bales.

Breadstuffs were without particular change. The money market was unchanged.

Consols were a trifle better, closing for money at 94½ @ 94⅝.

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 16, 1856.

The city is crowded with delegates and others, drawn here by the National Republican Convention, which assembles to-morrow. The friends of Fillmore, in this city, have appointed delegates to claim seats in the Convention as Republicans.

SECOND DISPATCH.

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 16, 1856.

The State Republican Convention met at noon, when John Ellison, of Beaver county, was chosen permanent President. Dr. Elder made a brilliant speech, when the Convention adjourned till afternoon.

The State Convention this afternoon approved of the State ticket nominated by the Union Convention, and selected "delegates at large" to the National Convention which meets here to-morrow; and then, after passing resolutions recommending the delegates at large to vote for McLean and Fremont, adjourned to meet again after the adjournment of the National Convention.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Philadelphia, June 17, 12 M.—Large delegations are present, to take part in the deliberations of the Republican Convention.

The Pennsylvania delegation have agreed to go nineteen for Judge McLean, and the balance for Colonel Fremont. The delegation from Kansas was received with loud cheers.

The Convention was called to order at half past eleven, and Hon. Robert Emmett, of New York, was appointed temporary Chairman.

The Convention appointed Committees on Permanent Organization, Credentials, and Platform, and adjourned till 4 P. M.

The following list of the Committee on Platform shows the States represented:

R. Ford, Maine; D. Clark, New Hampshire; G. Wells, Connecticut; Thomas Davis, Rhode Island; E. Russell, Vermont; Preston King, New York; D. S. Gregory, New Jersey; E. G. Bradford, Delaware; F. P. Blair, Maryland; John C. Underwood, Virginia; D. Wilmot, Pennsylvania; J. R. Giddings, Ohio; Isaac Chesterey, Michigan; M. M. Davis, Wisconsin; John P. Durfee, Indiana; George S. Brown, Illinois; James B. Holland, Iowa; John A. Wells, California; James A. Hutchinson, Kansas; Jacob Bigelow, District of Columbia; George D. Blakely, Kentucky; Hon. Alex Ramsey, Minnesota.

The Committee on Credentials have before them the credentials of two sets of Philadelphia delegates, one being Fillmore men.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at four o'clock. Reports from committees being announced as in order, the Committee on Permanent Organization reported the following:

For President—Henry S. Lane, of Indiana.

Vice Presidents—A. P. Morrow, Maine; A. Tubb, New Hampshire; H. Carpenter, Vermont; C. F. Adams, Massachusetts; J. Babcock, Rhode Island; C. F. Cleveland, Connecticut; J. A. King, New York; J. C. Hornblower, New Jersey; J. Rettner, Pennsylvania; S. Barr, Delaware; F. T. Cobb, Maryland; G. Rye, Virginia; G. D. Blackett, Kentucky; R. P. Spaulding, Ohio; J. Beard, Indiana; W. B. Archer, Illinois; K. S. Bingham, Michigan; W. D. McKnight, Wisconsin; Jacob Bigelow, District of Columbia; F. Springer, Iowa; F. E. Pomeroy, Kansas; A. Ramsey, Minnesota; H. B. Bennett, Nebraska; F. P. Folger, California.

One Secretary was appointed from each State represented.

When the President took the chair, he made a long and brilliant speech, which was frequently interrupted by cheers.

The Committee on Credentials made a partial report, which was adopted by acclamation. The contested seats from Philadelphia are given to the delegates originally chosen, including Passmore Williamson.

The rules of the House of Representatives were adopted, as far as their use is practicable.

The Committee on Platform not being prepared to report, the afternoon was occupied with speeches from Caleb B. Smith, of Ohio, and Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts.

The Convention adjourned till to-morrow.

Philadelphia, June 18.—This morning, the hall was more densely crowded than yesterday, being closely packed. It was evident, as the time of balloting approached, that the feeling of the friends of the different candidates was increasing in intensity. Copies of Sumner's speech were freely circulating among the candidates, and various handbills were scattered about the hall. Among the latter, was one originating from the Pennsylvanians, calling on the delegates to unite the whole North, by practicing harmony and forbearance, and uniting their names on one ticket.

The Massachusetts delegation met at an early hour of the morning, and unanimously agreed to cast her ballot for Banks; after which, Thomas J. Marsh, the State Treasurer, authoritatively and peremptorily withdrew his name. The delegation then voted as a unit to support Fremont.

The Convention was called to order a little after 10 o'clock.

It is understood that McLean and Chase have both withdrawn. Fremont will probably receive a plurality on the first ballot.

The Convention has adopted the platform, and is now debating whether to proceed to a formal or informal ballot.

EX-GOVERNOR REEDER'S POSITION.—*Easton, Pa., June* 13.—The report sent by telegraph the other day, alluding to Gov. Reeder's speech at this town, and which was copied from the papers here and forwarded in the absence of the regular correspondent, was entirely erroneous.

Gov. Reeder spoke very emphatically in confirmation of the accounts of the Border-Ruffian outrages. He declared that his sole object in visiting the East was to procure aid for Kansas, then hasten back and take his chances with them. He had no communication with Mr. Buchanan, and in no point has he changed either in his views, feelings, or determination, in regard to Kansas matters.

He left here yesterday, *en route* for Boston, and on his return will address the people here, fully and freely expressing his views on the exciting topic of the day.

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For the National Era.

WILL THE SOUTH DISSOLVE THE UNION?

BY GEORGE M. WESTON.

The Union of the American States was formed, and has thus far subsisted, by the free and voluntary association of the sovereign States of which it is composed. Alienations of feeling, local and individual, have existed at all times, and have sometimes assumed proportions and exhibited symptoms, which have excited serious apprehensions. But all these alienations have hitherto passed successively and harmlessly away, and at no time, during the eighty years of our independent national existence, has any single State desired to withdraw from a Confederacy, of which the advantage to all its members is so obvious and so signal.

During the present generation, the most studied and persevering efforts have been made to establish political theories, and excite feelings, hostile to the continuance of the Union, among the people of the slave States. These efforts, which a public opinion, perhaps unjust, but certainly irreversible, has attributed to the disappointed ambition of Mr. Calhoun, were directed first to the inculcation of the belief that the planting States, under our established system of custom-house taxation, contributed a great and onerous disproportion towards the public burdens, and, subsequently, to the fomenting of angry and heated passions connected with the subject of Slavery. It is not to be denied that these efforts, in which many men of extraordinary ability have enlisted, and which have been persevered in during a quarter of a century, have been, to a certain extent, successful. Their effects, most marked among the friends of Mr. Calhoun, and in the State of which he was so long the pride and favorite and political guide, are painfully visible everywhere throughout the South. But as yet, in every Southern State, the friends of the Union have at all times outnumbered the agitators of disunion; and they do so at this day, whatever appearances there may be to the contrary.

In the case of Texas, principally inhabited and wholly controlled by those who had been citizens of the Southern States, long and patiently, and at length successfully, pressing for admission *into* the Union, we have a decisive and most significant proof, that those who are urging the slave States to go *out* of the Union, have not yet accomplished their work. Notwithstanding the efforts of agitators, the majority of the people of those States do undoubtedly still perceive, as the people of Texas did, that they find in the strength and power of the Union the best guarantee of protection, and even of existence.

If the discussion in the free States of Slavery, and of propositions for its abolition, is offensive and dangerous to the South, it is abundantly certain that such discussion would lose none of its freedom and none of its acrimony by a dissolution of the Union. The restraints now resulting from the comity due to sister States, would then cease to exist. The South, no longer having political influence in the free States, would lose the whole body of mercenary supporters, whom it recruits and maintains in them by means of that influence. It requires no great knowledge of the springs of human action, to perceive that the same Northern demagogues, who now find it profitable to cater to Slavery, would then vie with each other in inflaming passions hostile to it. Men who betray the rights and interests of their own section of the country, in order to earn a shameful title to bribes held out by another, are little likely to be restrained by scruples from entering upon any course which promises personal advantage. Thus the South, by dissolving the Union, would lose at the North all the supports, good and bad, which it now enjoys there.

If the South complains, or has reason to complain, of the imperfect and obstructed discharge by the free States of their constitutional duty to return fugitive slaves, it is quite certain that a remedy for the evil is not to be sought in a dissolution of the Union, which would at once render the recapture of fugitive slaves wholly impossible, and at no long interval destroy the institution of Slavery in the border slave States. Wise men will endure what is unavoidable with patience, and at least will not rush into remedies which are worse than the disease. Undoubtedly, the condition of public sentiment in the free States renders the pursuit, within their limits, of fugitives from bondage, a thankless and profitless operation. No stringency of law is likely to make it otherwise. The instincts of human nature, which prompt succor to those who are fleeing from oppression, cannot be eradicated by legislation. The obstacles which are now interposed to the recapture of fugitives from involuntary service must, in fine, be submitted to as inevitable. The right itself of recapture falls with the Union; and this right, however obstructed in its enforcement, is still worth something in preventing escapes.

The position of the South is critical. Its fate is bound up in that of an institution which is condemned by the general judgment of civilized nations, and for the overthrow of which are combined the conscience, the prejudices, the fanaticism, and the interests, of mankind. Thus concentrating upon themselves the hostility, or, if that word is thought better, the malignity, of the world; the Southern States have absolutely no power of aggression, and scarcely any of defence, and, if the protecting shield of the Union was withdrawn, would fall an easy prey to exasperated and accumulated enemies. This is the real condition of the South, and it is truly pitiable and helpless to the last degree. The bravado by which it is attempted to be masked, the threats of dissolving the Union, made by men who hold their property, and even their lives, as they well know, only under the shelter of the Union; which shall we most admire, the calculating arrogance which prompts them, or the amazing simplicity which is deceived by them?

Mr. Calhoun, in his letter of August 12, 1844, to our then Minister to France, states the motives of interest pressing upon England, to induce her to desire the overthrow of Negro Slavery in the United States. Let us see what those motives are, and let us see, also, if they are not certain to control other Powers as well as Great Britain. Mr. Calhoun says:

> "One of the leading motives of England for desiring it, [the defeat of the annexation of Texas to the United States,] is the hope that, through her diplomacy and influence, Negro Slavery may be abolished there, and ultimately, by consequence, in the United States, and throughout the whole of this continent. That its ultimate abolition throughout the entire continent is an object ardently desired by her, we have decisive proof in the declaration of the Earl of Aberdeen, delivered to this Department."

Mr. Calhoun proceeds to point out, for what reasons, in his judgment, England desired to abolish Slavery on this continent; and he begins by denying that it can be attributed to "*humanity or philanthropy.*" "*I do not question,*" he says, "*but humanity may have been one of her leading motives for the abolition of the African slave trade, and that it may have had considerable influence in abolishing Slavery in her West India possessions;*" but her present movements he ascribes to quite different considerations. According to Mr. Calhoun, England has been disappointed in the experiment of free labor in her Colonies. He says:

> "Experience has convinced her of the fallacy of her calculations. She has failed in all her objects. The labor of her negroes has proved far less productive, without affording the consolation of having improved their condition. * * * Her tropical products have fallen off to a vast amount. * * * So disastrous has been the result, that her fixed capital, vested in tropical possessions, estimated at the value of nearly five hundred millions of dollars, is said to stand on the brink of ruin. But this is not the worst. While this costly scheme has had such ruinous effects on the tropical productions of Great Britain, it has given a powerful stimulus, followed by a corresponding increase of products, to those countries which have had the good sense to shun her example. There has been vested, it is estimated by them, in the production of tropical products, since 1808, in fixed capital, nearly $4,000,000,000, wholly dependent on slave labor. In the same period, the value of their products has been estimated to have risen from about $72,000,000 annually, to nearly $220,000,000; while the whole of the fixed capital of Great Britain, vested in cultivating tropical products, both in the East and West Indies, is estimated at only about $830,000,000, and the value of the products annually at about $50,000,000. To present a still more striking view of the three articles of tropical products, (sugar, coffee, and cotton,) the British possessions, including the West and East Indies, and Mauritius, produced in 1842, of sugar, only 3,993,771 pounds, while Cuba, Brazil, and the United States, excluding other countries having tropical possessions, produced 9,600,000 pounds; of coffee, the British possessions produced only 27,393,003, while Cuba and Brazil produced 201,590,125 pounds; and of cotton, the British possessions, including shipments to China, only 137,443,446 pounds, while the United States alone produced 790,479,275 pounds. * * * This is seen and felt by British statesmen, and has opened their eyes to the errors which they have committed. The question now with them is, How shall it be counteracted? * * * In order to regain her superiority, she not only seeks to revive and increase her own capacity to produce tropical productions, but to diminish and destroy the capacity of those who have so far outstripped her, in consequence of her error. * * * Her main reliance is to cripple or destroy the productions of her successful rivals. There is but one way by which it can be done, and that is, abolishing African Slavery throughout this continent; and that she openly avows to be the constant object of her policy and exertions. It matters not how, or from what motive, it may be done; whether it may be by diplomacy, influence, or force; by secret or open means; and whether the motive be humane or selfish. Without regard to manner, means, or motive, the thing itself, should it be accomplished, would put down all rivalry, and give her the undisputed supremacy in supplying her own wants, and those of the rest of the world. * * * The end [of abolishing Slavery in Cuba, Brazil, and the United States] would be, that the superiority in cultivating the great tropical staples would be transferred from them to the British tropical possessions.
>
> "They are of vast extent, and those beyond the Cape of Good Hope possessed of an unlimited amount of labor. * * * It is the successful competition of slave labor which keeps the prices of the great tropical staples so low as to prevent their cultivation with profit in the possessions of Great Britain, by what she is pleased to call free labor."

Mr. Calhoun may err in supposing that England regrets the abolition of Slavery in her West Indian Colonies. He may err in imputing her desire to see Slavery abolished elsewhere, wholly to motives of policy, unmixed with motives of humanity. But there can be no doubt, either of the matter of fact that England does wish to see Slavery abolished everywhere, or of the importance of its universal abolition to the prosperity of interests with which her industrial prosperity is conspicuously identified. At all events, and beyond all peradventure, whether from philanthropy, or selfishness, or a mixture of both, Great Britain, the first maritime Power in the world, and having island possessions in threatening propinquity to the Southern States, is decisively committed, and by enduring motives, to the Anti-Slavery cause. The gentlemen of the slave States understand it well, and for years they have sounded an alarm, neither affected nor groundless, that England wishes to "*Africanize*" Cuba, and surround the South with "*a cordon of free negro communities.*" It was to defeat this scheme, that, under Col. Polk's Administration, they offered one hundred millions of dollars for the purchase of Cuba, and more recently instigated conferences at Ostend, at which the same purchase was attempted at a much higher price. We will consider by and by, in the progress of this discussion, whose money it was which has been offered with such a princely and uncalculating munificence. For the present, I refer to it only as proof of the intensity of slaveholding apprehensions, and of the magnitude of the dangers which threaten Slavery. The most formidable Power on the Globe, with every inviting opportunity of position, is the known, avowed, and sworn enemy of the institution with which every Southern interest is indissolubly bound up, and is so also from motives and considerations which make its hostility fixed, unappeasable, and eternal.

All the orators and all the writers of the South adopt the views of Mr. Calhoun in reference to English policy. To quote them all, is equally impracticable and unnecessary, and I only refer now to a speech delivered in Congress, April 29, 1856, by Gen. Quitman, a Representative of Mississippi, and the owner of three hundred slaves, as the latest and most elaborate expression of these views. After remarking generally upon "*the peculiar condition of many neighboring States and Colonies, and the influence which their condition must exercise upon our own prosperity,*" Gen. Quitman proceeds to particularize (1st) Mexico, which, he says, "*can be saved only by the advancing flood of our enterprising citizens;*" (2d) Central America, where he says that, at present, "*European intrigues check our extension,*" but where he hopes much from "*that patriotic band which has lately transplanted the principles of Democracy from the United States to Nicaraguan soil;*" (3d) Cuba; and (4th) San Domingo, which "*strange and grotesque power,*" he says, "*under whose stupid sway that fair island, holding, with her commodious ports, the same relation to the Caribbean Sea that Cuba holds to the Gulf of Mexico, is fast relapsing into barbarism, is sustained by mighty European influences in its attempts to exterminate the small white Dominican Republic which still retains a portion of the island.*"

Completing his survey, Gen. Quitman significantly declares—

> "All the rest of insular America is European or African. Standing here, among the statesmen of America, I point to the surrounding scene. Behold it as it is, and then look forward a few years, and contemplate what it will be. What reflections does it not present! A world-startling drama is to be enacted; and are we, the guardians of our country's weal, to have no part in the performance? Do we not know that the development, the greatness, and THE SAFETY, even, of our beloved land, are deeply concerned?"

"*Insular America!*" That has a strange and unfamiliar sound. It has nothing in common with the history and ideas of this people. It was Continental America which resisted George III. It was in the name of the Continental Congress that Ethan Allen demanded the surrender of Ticonderoga. Of nothing is the tradition so fresh, as of the famous Continental money, with which our armies were kept on foot during that great struggle. "*Insular America!*" The phrase is new, and of alarming and dangerous portent. The idea of which it is the expression must be met, and resisted and denounced at the threshold. Of our Continental possessions, we have not even explored the one half. With the possible exception of an occasional resting-place for our commerce in the vast Pacific, we want no islands. "*Insular America*" may exist in geography, but should never be allowed to form a part of our politics.

The cause of Gen. Quitman's alarm is his belief, reiterated in a great variety of forms, that Great Britain is inflexibly intent upon devoting this "*Insular America,*" so near and so menacing to the Southern States, to the possession and domination of the hated race of Africans. Gen. Quitman says:

> "She has been pertinaciously engaged in protecting Spanish tyranny, [in Cuba,] and in the unnatural and anti-Christian attempt to establish, throughout the whole of insular America, a barbarous black empire. The germ of her plot was exhibited in laying waste Jamaica, by destroying the proper relations between the white and black races there. * * * Her plot is further exposed by her intrigues in San Domingo. * * * Pursuing her schemes with intense cunning and indefatigable zeal, she has used her strong influence with Spain to bring about the abolition of Slavery in Cuba. Her intent is plain. * * * She desires to devote the American Archipelago, the great islands of the Caribbean sea, to the negro race. * * * Could this scheme be effected, the object of England would be attained; our progress in that quarter would be forever stopped. The protectorate of the black Empire, or States, thus brought into existence, would, of course, be vested in Great Britain. * * * She will have the power to disturb, at her pleasure, the ☞ *repose of the contiguous States,* ☜ and to stimulate throughout our entire country the agitation of that Slavery question, which, even now, is so pregnant with mischief to the harmony of our institutions. * * * None but the perversely blind can fail to perceive her serpent-like policy. * * * The never-slumbering vigilance of our great commercial rival is at work, weaving intricate meshes, and planning dangerous combinations to entangle and destroy us."

Observing that Spain, under English influence, has invested the Captain General of Cuba with the power, as one extreme means of defence, of "*emancipating the slave population,*" Gen. Quitman exclaims: "*There before us,* PREGNANT WITH RUIN, *hangs the dark and terrible cloud!*"

Observing that he had "*not time to present the many and conclusive proofs that the policy of England is such as is attributed to her,*" Gen. Quitman quotes the following, from instructions given by Lord Palmerston to the British Minister at Madrid, in 1851:

> "I have to instruct your Lordship to say to the Spanish Minister, that the slaves form a large portion, and by no means an unimportant one, of the people of Cuba; and that steps taken to provide for *their emancipation* would therefore, as far as the black population is concerned, *be quite in unison* with the recommendation made by her Majesty's Government, that measures should be adopted for contenting the people of Cuba."

The policy of England may be denounced as selfish. It is, however, the duty of Governments to consult the interests of the governed; and when they do so without invading the rights of others, they deserve praise, and not censure. England need not be ashamed to avow the motives which control her. She can make a clean breast of it, without incurring the condemnation of an impartial world. In the competitions of production and commerce, whoever makes use of enslaved labor is the natural enemy of all the rest of mankind, and must not complain if he is treated as such. He avails himself of an unfair advantage. The robbery of the slave becomes the robbery of the freeman, with whose labor the slave is brought into rivalry. The working men of the free States of this Union do not, all of them, as yet, see that this is so, but they are fast learning it; and when the lesson is once learned, it will never be unlearned. The Government of England perceives it, and is acting upon it, and will continue to act upon it.

So long as the Union of these States subsists, Slavery, as a domestic institution of a portion of the Confederacy, is entitled to that protection from the national power, of which it stands so greatly in need. If the Union is dissolved, the Southern States must protect it as best they may. England is under no obligation to protect it, but is perfectly justified in preventing its extension, by any fair means, if she believes it to be antagonistic to her own policy. While we are governed by our own interests, let us not childishly complain because England also is governed by her own interests. Insisting upon our own rights, and pursuing our own policy, let us respect the equal prerogatives of other sovereign nations.

In his letter of 1844, to our Minister to France, Mr. Calhoun shows an extreme anxiety to establish a distinction between the interests of France and those of England, in reference to the annexation of Texas to the United States, and in reference to the whole question of Slavery connected therewith. He says:

> "Previous information was calculated to make the impression that the Government of France was prepared to unite with Great Britain in a joint protest against the annexation of Texas. * * * The President is happy to infer from your despatch, that the information, *so far as it relates to France,* is in all probability without foundation. * * * You were right in making the *distinction* between the interests of France and England in reference to Texas. * * * I hold, not only that France can have no interest in the consummation of this grand scheme, [the abolition of Slavery,] which England hopes to accomplish through Texas, if she can defeat the annexation; but that her interest, and those of all the Continental Powers of Europe, are directly and deeply opposed to it. * * * What possible motive can they have to favor her [England's] cherished policy? Is it not better for them that they should be supplied with tropical products, in exchange for their labor, from the United States, Brazil, Cuba, and this Continent generally, than to be dependent on one great monopolizing Power for their supplies?"

If the views of Mr. Calhoun produced any effect upon France twelve years ago, it is certain that they produce none now, but that that great Power fully sympathizes with and is actually co-operating with Great Britain, in resisting the spread of Negro Slavery. It is possible, indeed, that the events which have transpired since the date of Mr. Calhoun's letter, may have helped to consolidate this accord between French and English policy. It is since 1844 that Negro Slavery has been abolished in the French Colonies. It is only recently that Algeria has been looked to as having the capacity to furnish large supplies of cotton, sugar, and tobacco; and Algeria, it must be recollected, is a word of very elastic signification, and means, in truth, just so much of Northern Africa as France sees fit to occupy. These new events, giving to France an interest to uphold free labor against slave labor in tropical productions, certainly harmonize with, and have probably confirmed and strengthened, the personal policy of the present Ruler of France, in respect to a close connection with England. At all events, the fact is undoubted, that France and England are heartily united in the system of checking, obstructing, and defeating, wherever they can, the efforts of Slavery in the United States to extend its limits and power.

General Quitman says that the power of Spain in Cuba is maintained, "*not only by the moral influence, but by the active interference of England* AND FRANCE;" of the hated negro domination in St. Domingo, he says, that it is "*sustained by mighty* EUROPEAN *influences;*" and of the whole policy of England, in reference to "*the Slavery question,*" he declares that "FRANCE, SINCE THE ADVENT OF LOUIS NAPOLEON, HAS HEARTILY COINCIDED" in it. In confirmation of this view, General Quitman reproduces the following declaration, made in the British Parliament, not long since, by Lord Clarendon, Secretary of Foreign Affairs:

> "I will further add that the union between the two Governments has not been confined to the Eastern question. The happy accord and good understanding between France and England have been extended beyond the Eastern policy, to the policy affecting all parts of the world; and I am heartily rejoiced to say that there is NO PORTION of the TWO HEMISPHERES, with regard to which the policy of the two countries, however heretofore antagonistic, is not now in ENTIRE HARMONY."

In confirmation of the same view, General Quitman publishes a letter, dated April 25, 1856, from General Cazneau, in which General Cazneau says:

> "I was commissioned by President Pierce, in June, 1854, to negotiate a treaty with the Dominican Republic; and, after encountering many difficulties, through the intrigues and false representations of the FRENCH and English agents—*who notoriously make common cause with the negroes of Hayti against the whites*—the terms were fully agreed upon * * * * Meantime, an ALLIED squadron had been sent for by these agents. * * * * Under the specious title of 'the Mediating Powers,' FRANCE and England always hold the negroes in readiness, to be let slip like bloodhounds on the whites, at the east end of Hayti, if they prove at any time refractory to European policy. * * * I cannot severely blame the Dominican Government, with the evidence I had before me that it was under stringent European duress."

With the two great maritime Powers of Europe thus combined in immovable hostility to Negro Slavery, it matters little what may be the views of the "*Continental Powers,*" to whom Mr. Calhoun directed a portion of his appeals. They are absolutely powerless in such a controversy. But in truth, with the possible exception of some sympathy which may be imagined to exist between the nobles of Russia and the planters of the South, both subsisting upon the coerced labor of others, European opinion is most decided against the institution of Slavery. It is true that the "*Continental Powers*" have no such interests as England and France have, in the competition of free labor with slave labor in tropical productions. It may even be true that they receive some advantage, rather than injury, by the cheapening of certain articles of general consumption by slave labor. These considerations apply with all their force to the Germans, and yet it is quite notorious that they abhor Slavery. An industrious, intelligent, reflecting, and emigrating people, they perceive that the black slave either supplants or degrades the white laborer. To no part of the civilized world, in fine, can the slaveholder turn for sympathy or support. The interests, the moral sense, the religious education, the prejudices of mankind, are all against him. Even if he may justly complain that a part of this hostility springs from envy and malicious fanaticism, or that the cunning aristocracies of England and Europe join in the clamor against a distant evil, with no better intent than to divert attention from their own oppressions, the fact remains the same, that upon him and upon his peculiar institution are concentrated the opprobrium and detestation of the world.

The Southern States are acting under the pressure of two motives; first, to ward off the perils which immediately menace their existence; and, second, to gratify their lust of power, and assure to themselves security during an indefinite period, by enlarging the range and limits of their peculiar institution. The first is a motive of present necessity; the second is a motive of forecast and ambition.

The world will be at no loss to understand what is meant by "*saving Mexico by the advancing flood of our enterprising citizens.*" It means simply the appropriation of Mexico, in successive portions along the Gulf, after the manner of Texas, to the uses of slaveholding. The world will be at no loss to understand the true cause of Southern sympathy with what is called the "*redeeming*" of Central America. Nobody is simple enough to believe that the gentlemen of South Carolina and Georgia and Mississippi, who have no interest in either commerce or navigation, are at all in earnest when they take up the question of transit between the Atlantic and Pacific, as a commercial question. They have neither ships, steamers, nor trade. The South has no relations with California, not even, at the present time, of emigration. That country was long since overstocked with politicians, and the laboring men of the South are too poor to undertake so distant and expensive a journey. Southern concern with Central America, as a question of transit, is a pretence too bald and flimsy to impose upon anybody. Doubtless, we have national interests connected with Central America; but for national interests the South has no eyes. Their politics are all narrow, sectional, and provincial, beginning with the negro, and ending with the negro. They may put forward commercial reasons, if they will, for seizing Nicaragua. The world knows better. The South wants Nicaragua now, as a *point d'appui* of an attack upon Cuba, and by and by, when the African slave trade can be re-established, as a new theatre upon which to compel men who are black, to labor without wages for men who are white.

Undoubtedly, it is of the first moment to the South, as a matter of self-preservation, to avert the Africanization of Cuba. Undoubtedly, it will be important to the South, in the progress of time, to secure an outlet along the Gulf of Mexico for the accumulating numbers of their blacks. Undoubtedly, it would place the institution of Slavery in a position not only secure, but commanding, if, possessed of the whole borders of the Gulf, and of the magnificent islands which divide the Gulf from the Ocean, it was enabled to control the products of the tropics, and dictate to the hopes and fears of the commerce of the world. But by whose arms, by whose treasure, by whose potential weight in the diplomacy of nations, is danger to be averted from, and security and even aggrandizement assured to, an institution condemned by the general judgment of mankind, and for the overthrow of which the whole world has conspired? If it be really necessary to pay one hundred millions of dollars for Cuba, and if such a purchase was possible, even at such a price, is it not plain that a Confederacy of Southern States, with which we are vainly threatened, could not command one-tenth of that sum for any purpose, and not one single dollar for such a purpose from any money-lenders on the face of the globe? Beyond a question, to even such a call, monstrous as it is, the credit of the nation, bottomed upon the wealth and numbers of the free States, would be found equal. The gentlemen planters of the Carolinas and of the Gulf States may possibly, in some moments of chivalrous exaltation, imagine themselves to be competent to acquire the Queen of the Antilles by force of arms, after dissolving the Union; but by no extreme of frenzy can they hope to acquire Cuba at the magnificent and even swaggering prices they have offered for it, except by laying hands upon the proceeds of the free labor of the thrifty North. Great Britain and France did not oppose an armed intervention against the slaveholding appropriation of Texas. Possibly they may remain passive, while the incipient steps to a similar appropriation are being taken in Central America. If so, they are restrained, not by any fear of the South, completely vulnerable and thoroughly helpless as it is, but by the power which the Union derives from the populous and vigorous North. If they forbear or postpone the Africanization of Cuba, it is to avoid giving offence to the great Confederacy under whose shadow the South reposes. If impunity is hoped for the buccaneers to be let loose by the Southern proposition to abrogate the neutrality laws, upon what else is such a hope based, but upon the respect inspired by our national power? Deprived of the protection of that power, would not the South be only too happy to abandon every project of aggression, if it could thereby secure to itself immunity from invasion? Would not its high and defiant tones, backed now by the fleets and the bayonets of the North, subside at once to a key the most dulcet and the most amicable, if left to its own resources, or, more correctly, want of resources? If new conferences were held at Ostend by the diplomatists of a Southern Confederacy, would they make themselves ridiculous by offering millions for Cuba without ability to raise a dime, and menacing invasions without sailors enough to man a shallop? Certainly, these gentlemen will still condescend to remain in a Union, to the resources of which they contribute so little, but the whole power of which they make available to objects peculiar to themselves. Certainly, these gentlemen will still condescend to spend the money and use the moral and physical power of the sixteen millions of people in the free States, for the security and aggrandizement of their own special interests. Indebted to the sheltering wing of the Union for their safety, these gentlemen should, however, cease to affect to complain of it as a burden. Vain affectation! The sun which goes down upon the Union, goes down upon Slavery as an aggressive and expanding power. From that moment, it can only struggle for life and being and safety, and with the certainty before it of ultimate destruction. Its doom will be sealed, and no longer ambitiously dictating the policy of a great nation, and no longer wielding treasures not of its own contribution, and fleets not of its own raising, it will sink into an abject suppliant for the commiseration and forbearance of mankind.

It would be to suppose the gentlemen of the South absolutely demented, to believe that there is one particle of sincerity in their empty threats of dissolving the Union, or to believe even that they could be driven out of the Union by any imaginable act on the part of the Government. The Union, which is a great and unmixed blessing to all its members, *esto perpetua!* is an absolute necessity to the South. Condemned to "*imbecility*" (I quote Mr. Madison's language) by their peculiar institution, they do not conceal it from themselves, and will not conceal it from others, by any amount of theatrical arrogance. Without fleets, wealth, available population, or possible alliances, they must give up the preposterous imposture of threatening to dissolve a political connection, without which they could not exist in safety one single hour. The credulity of mankind is great, but not inexhaustible.

No! The South, or rather the Slavery propaganda which controls the South for the time being, meditate no such act of insanity as a dissolution of the Union. Their purpose is, not to leave the Union, but to rule it. They are not madmen, as they would have us believe, but cool, wary, and unscrupulous calculators. Men identified with such an interest as theirs, as really weak as it is affectedly arrogant, men with two thousand millions of dollars in slave property, cannot afford to act upon the suggestions of passion. Whoever believes they will, knows nothing of the springs of human action. Whoever believes they will, shuts his eyes to the most patent and conspicuous facts. If these Southern gentlemen are mad, they have a method in their madness. They have a policy, and they have just avowed to the whole world what that policy is, in the platform which they have erected at Cincinnati, and upon which they ask the country to elevate Mr. Buchanan to the Presidency.

Whoever wishes to understand Southern policy, should read that platform, in which it is plainly written down. It contains, not threats of dissolving the Union, but the commitment of what was once a great and national party to the appropriation of the entire resources of the Union to the single and local interest of Slavery. It is the speech of General Quitman, from which I have quoted, embodied in resolutions. It is filibustering digested into a code; and not filibustering for the spread of Liberty, but for the spread of Slavery. Affecting to pronounce for "*free seas,*" it recognises only one sea, and that is the American Mediterranean, around which cluster the hopes and interests of Slavery. Of the Indies, it can only see the modern, and not the ancient, the West Indies, and not the East Indies. It has no eyes for the Pacific Ocean, none for the Sandwich Islands, none for the vast commerce yet to be developed with China, with Japan, with Australia, and with all the regions of the South Sea. Demanding protection to "*outlets,*" it has eyes only for the Florida Pass and the Caribbean Sea; none for the St. Lawrence, with its magnificent valley of a million square miles. Not only not recommending a railroad across the Continent, but doubting, and halting, and speaking in uncertain tones and with contradictory votes in reference to any species of overland communication, it sees no mode of reaching California, except by "*isthmus routes,*" the protection of which will afford pretexts for buying or seizing Cuba, and for enslaving St. Domingo. It points to expansion in only one direction, and that direction is the Gulf of Mexico. Under pretence of controlling the transit between the Atlantic and Pacific in the interest of commerce, at the cost of a war which would annihilate all commerce, it makes the occupation of Nicaragua by the *avant couriers* of Slavery a canon of Democratic faith. Interpreting language by the known views and purposes of those who speak, it commits the Democratic party to the acquisition of Cuba, and to the re-enslavement of the blacks of St. Domingo. "*Cuba,*" says General Quitman, "*commands the entire trade of the Gulf. It is the commercial and naval strategetic key of the richest products of the world.*"

This is the systematic language of the South, and when they demand "*permanent protection for the outlets*" of the Gulf, they demand Cuba. St. Domingo, says Gen. Cazneau, is one of that "*grand circle of islands which enclose the Caribbean Sea, and command our isthmus routes to the Pacific.*" Gen. Cazneau the Texan, like Gen. Quitman the Mississippian, feels a deep interest in commerce. It is an interest most disinterested, and every way remarkable. It is for the sake of commerce, that these gentleman and their associates, speaking in the platform erected at Cincinnati, demand that our "*ascendency in the Gulf of Mexico*" be "*insured*" at all costs and all hazards. This "*ascendency,*" in any intelligible sense, and for every legitimate purpose, already exists. If we can rely upon Gen. Jackson as military authority, the "*naval strategetic key*" of the Florida Pass is not Havana, but the Dry Tortugas. It is not because the Moro Castle threatens our shipping, but because the possible Africanization of Cuba threatens the plantations of Florida and Georgia and the Carolinas, that these gentlemen insist upon "*ascendency in the Gulf of Mexico.*" What is meant is not "*ascendency*" in any sense which is military or commercial, but the linking of the whole of "*insular America,*" in the language of Gen. Quitman, to a "*common destiny,*" "*common interests,*" and "*similar institutions*"—or, in brief, to Negro Slavery.

As the whole energies of the present Administration, in obedience to the commands of the slaveholders, have been directed to pushing Slavery, at even the hazard of civil war, north from the parallel of 36° 30′ to the parallel of 41°, so the same slaveholders, speaking through the Democratic party, of which they are the masters, now declare that they "*expect from the next Administration*" that steps be taken for the protection and extension of Slavery on the continent and islands enclosing the Gulf of Mexico, which will certainly involve us in wars with all the maritime Powers of Europe. This is what these gentlemen "*expect from the next Administration,*" and it is what they will obtain from it, if they can constitute it in accordance with their wishes. The North is sometimes deceived in its men; the South, never! The Cincinnati platform is only the expression, in a concentrated form, of the Soulé conferences; and from the first, the real leaders of the South intended to nominate upon that platform the pliant Pennsylvanian who travelled from London to Ostend, in order to give the weight of our first diplomatic position abroad to propositions, to purchase Cuba at any cost of money, or to obtain it at any sacrifice of peace and national character. The coy and amorous delay which marks the public adoption of Mr. Buchanan by these wily leaders, will not conceal the secret arrangements made with him long since, but now for the first time announced to the world.

If these slaveholding States would really execute their daily threats, and dissolve the Union, which they can only do by leaving it, our regret, great and sincere as it ought to be, would not be by any means unalloyed. We should be threatened with no more wars for the extension of Slavery, under the delusive guise of "*insuring an ascendency in the Gulf of Mexico;*" we should have no hundred millions to pay for Cuba; we could hope, in short, to be permitted to enjoy in peace the fruits of our own industry. Leave us, however, they will not; rule us they will, if they can; but they ought not, at one and the same time, to rule us, and threaten to leave us too. Even the Old Man in the story, who fastened himself upon the back of Sinbad, was more merciful than this. He used Sinbad very hardly, but did not insult him by threatening to quit him.

It is quite time that the true relation between the North and South was considered and discussed with truth and frankness. That relation is really that of the protector and protected. The inherent weakness of the South is sheltered by the power and vigor of the North. The Union is of inestimable advantage to both parties, but absolutely vital to the existence of the South. It is stable, because bottomed upon the essential and lasting interests of all the members of it. Of those who are now threatening to destroy it, the greater part are political Falstaffs, while the other part are passionate and excited men, who will be safely taken care of by the good sense of the communities in which they live. In a country where opinion is free, all sorts of opinions will be expressed, and among them, some which are wicked, and some which are silly. Let us not be alarmed by every idle wind which blows, but abide calmly in the belief that passion is only effervescent, and that the intelligent people of this country will continue to be controlled by their interests, in political transactions upon which depend the security and value of property, protection from foreign and domestic violence, and the solid assurance of all personal rights.

The camels brought out by the ship Supply, for the United States Government, have been safely landed in Texas.

THE WAR IN KANSAS.

From the St. Louis Democrat, June 3d.

U. S. Troops Stationed at Topeka and Lawrence.

Topeka, May 28.—Forty-five United States dragoons are encamped in this city, to assist the bogus Sheriff in the serving of writs, and to execute Douglas's threat to "subdue" the people of Kansas. One hundred and sixty troops are stationed in Lawrence for the same purpose.

Yesterday, a man named Dunn was shot through the head by a man with whom a difficulty had occurred on some personal matter; both Pro-Slavery men.

It is currently reported in this vicinity, from good authority, that for several days a party of Col. Buford's men were encamped near Osawatomie, forty-five miles south of Lawrence, committing many depredations upon the property of the squatters, who at last became enraged, made an attack upon the camp, killed five of their number, and drove the remainder into Missouri.

The Pro-Slavery men in that vicinity, who have identified themselves with the troubles in Kansas, have been waited upon by a committee, and ordered to pack up and move into Missouri, with their goods and chattels, instanter. The commands have been complied with, and many families have left. The greatest excitement prevails in that portion of Kansas.

Gov. Shannon has ordered a detachment of troops to Osawatomie to disperse the people. On the arrival of the dragoons there, they found a small camp of the settlers, and informed them of the object of their visit, and commanded them to disperse, in obedience to the commands of Shannon. The settlers quietly dispersed, without any resistance whatever.

If Kansas is to become the "dark and bloody ground," it will soon be found that one party can shoot as well as the other, and the war will become general. Much as the people deplore such a state of affairs, they will carry it out, if necessary, to vindicate their rights, and to secure the protection of their lives.

I am about leaving for Leavenworth city.

Missourians Preparing for a Foray.

We received the following printed despatch yesterday, and present it to our readers without comment:

Westport, May 29.—Information of a reliable character, in which the utmost confidence may be placed, has reached us, that since the disbanding of the Marshal's posse in Kansas Territory, called together to enforce the laws, the Abolitionists have been committing the grossest outrages upon the Pro-Slavery settlers. At Hickory Point, houses have been burnt, and the Southern settlers ordered out of the Territory.

At Pottawatomie Creek, some eight murders have been committed on defenceless Pro-Slavery settlers, and, not satisfied with killing, their bodies have been brutally mutilated. In view of these facts, it is but right, and justice and humanity demand, that we should arm ourselves, and proceed at once to the help and protection of our fellow-countrymen. Many of the settlers of Kansas are our neighbors and friends, from our own State. It is apparent that this state of things cannot and must not be suffered longer to exist, unless we intend to fold our arms, and silently and patiently see our people brutally assassinated and murdered, and eventually our own lives endangered and our property sacrificed. Efforts are now making to organize a party for the help of the Pro-Slavery settlers of the Territory. What is done must be done at once, and without delay; and it is therefore suggested that all who desire to aid in this matter should at once take steps to have here, just as early as possible, such provisions as will be necessary for the subsistence of the persons going. We say to you that eight murders have been committed. What ought to be done, under such circumstances, will suggest itself without any intimation from us. Neither should it be expected that Jackson county alone and single-handed can meet this affair as it deserves. Missouri and the whole South have an interest at stake.

From the Paris (Ky.) Citizen.

Our friend Sebree, just returned from a trip to Kansas, handed us yesterday morning an extra, printed at Westport, Missouri, on the 22d, giving an account of the late proceedings in the Territory. It does not differ materially from the accounts received by telegraph. It states that a company of about two hundred armed Free State men had collected at Lawrence on the day after the assault upon that place, and an attack from them upon the town of Franklin was feared. The account is inflammatory, and counsels still further violence. It contains the following significant passage: "Our Missouri friends must understand that this is but the beginning of the end. We want you still." Mr. Sebree says that large numbers of the Missourians are in the Territory, and that the supply of them is only limited by the demand. The representation he makes of the men who compose the body of the Pro-Slavery party, and of their proceedings, is not very flattering to them. He says that decent Southern men who go there under no undue excitement are ashamed of them, and he saw some such, whose minds on the subject of Slavery in Kansas had undergone a complete change. The large company of Southern emigrants recruited in Alabama by Major Buford he represents as a miserable set of drunken loafers, many of whom have died in consequence of their vices and imprudence, and all of whom are cursing the men that induced them to go to the country. Mr. Sebree says that it is generally conceded that, of the actual citizens of the Territory, two to one are in favor of a free State; and that, with the exception of a comparatively small number of brawlers, they are quiet, industrious, men, seeking to establish homes for themselves and for their families. They have been outnumbered and outvoted by the people from the borders of Missouri, who have been organized for that purpose. These are plain, unpalatable truths for Southern men, but the sooner the truth is known the better. Mr. Sebree thinks that the war has but commenced, and that in a very short time thousands of armed men will be in Kansas from the free States.

Extract from a letter to the General Superintendent of the New York State Kansas League.

St. Louis, June 4.—A man who was an eye-witness has just informed us of the circumstances of the shooting of five Pro-Slavery men by a party of Free State men at Potawatamie Creek. A Free State man went into a store, and inquired the price of lead. The answer was, "eighteen cents per pound, if for a Pro-Slavery customer, twenty-five cents to a Free State man." He claimed that he was no Pro-Slavery man, and would pay twenty-five cents. One present asked what he wanted to shoot. He replied, "Wolves, if they come in my way, or even a man, if attacked." They at once siezed him, (being five in number,) and took him to the timber, while another Free State man, who was in the store, ran out of the back door to a Free State party who were armed. They followed, and came up just as the party had got a rope over a limb, and were placing it around the neck of their victim, when the Free State men (each picked their man) fired, and the whole party (five) fell dead. The Free State men are driven to this course, as the Missourians on the border are rising in a mass, swearing to drive out every Free State man, or murder him on the soil. * * * Illinois is rising, Wisconsin and Michigan. Five hundred left Milwaukie, in one party, for Kansas, composed of men, women, and children. Why is not the North waking up? I hope soon to hear of *action* on the part of the East and Forth.

George Walter, Esq.

More Pro-Slavery Men Killed by Abolitionists.

From the Westport Border Times, June 2.

We learn from reliable despatches, just received from Capt. Pate's company, now at Hickory Point, that Hon. John Donaldson was killed by the Abolitionists on Friday last.

This news was brought in by Mr. N. B. Thomas, and is fully credited.

A Pro-Slavery man, an old gentleman, named Boyle, who lived at Hickory Point, was robbed and driven from his farm a few days ago, by the Abolition thieves. He is now in this place. They stole all of his money and three fine horses, then drove him and his family off.

Friday night last, the Deputy Marshal's posse was fired on from Wakefield's house, near Lawrence, and two of his men wounded, and one horse killed. The party were then taken prisoners by about eighty men, and kept over night. They were insulted in every possible manner, and threatened many times with instant death. But finding that they had arrested a United States officer and his posse, the prisoners were released.

Murders, robberies, and assassinations, are daily occurrences in the Territory.

Will our Southern friends stand idly by, and cry, "Peace! peace!" when "there is no peace." This is but the result of British emissaries, and we call on one and all to aid in exterminating this vile nest of traitors, murderers, and robbers. The men of property should come up to the help of those noble spirits who are now endangering their lives in behalf of the South. Let every man do all he can. The law and order party need aid and assistance, and must have it. Who will respond?

Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune, June 10.

A Field Fight in Kansas—Pro-Slavery Men Defeated—Assault on the Town of Franklin.

Lawrence, June 5.—An open field battle took place at Palmyra on the afternoon of Monday, the 2d inst. It lasted nearly three hours. The parties were nearly equal. The Pro-Slavery men were a roving band under Capt. H. C. Pate, correspondent of the *Missouri Republican*. Five Pro-Slavery men were wounded—three mortally. The Pro-Slavery men surrendered, with twenty-five horses and mules, arms, ammunition, two drums, a large quantity of articles stolen at the sacking of Lawrence.

The United States troops knew of the battle, but did not interfere.

The Free State settlers clustered to Palmyra, and one hundred got there after the battle was over.

The troops went down next day to disperse the Free State men and release the prisoners.

Another attack was made on Franklin, where the Missourians had assembled in force, with a cannon and ammunition. Only one of their companies got there, and they were short about fifteen men. After twenty minutes, the small party retreated. No particulars.

Civil war exists here. The troops are here in force, but have done nothing yet but help Gov. Shannon to Sharpe's rifles.

Judge Lecompte has failed to go to Lecompton, to examine the prisoners on their plea for bail.

By Telegraph to the Associated Press.

Chicago, June 9.—The latest Kansas dates confirm the intelligence of a fresh outbreak of hostilities. Capt. Pate's company having been overpowered by a force of Free State men, Gen. Whitfield left Wesport on the night of the 2d, at the head of one hundred men, in pursuit. They were supposed to be about forty miles from Westport, on the Santa Fe road. Col. Sumner also left for the scene of disturbance, with eight companies of dragoons. The Chicago *Tribune* has a letter dated Lawrence, May 31, which states that the Free State settlers are in imminent peril; that forces from Missouri are again invading the Territory, and the farmers have been obliged to organize companies to guard their property against bands of marauders.

St. Louis, June 9.—The account taken from an extra of the *Kansas City Enterprise,* (Pro-Slavery,) and telegraphed from here, that nine Abolitionists and thirteen Pro-Slavery men were killed in an encounter between a band of 150 Abolitionists and Capt. Pate's company, proved to be an exaggeration. Capt. Pattie and McGee, reported dead, are alive, and but two or three persons were killed in all. Capt. Pate's company was captured, the Free State party being greatly superior in numbers. Gen. Whitfield, with 100 men, has gone to their rescue.

THE TROUBLES IN KANSAS.—*St. Louis, June* 9.—An extra of the *Westport Times* of the 5th says that reliable news has been received of the burning of the town of Bernard, Kansas, on the night of the 3d, by the Free State men. Twelve to fifteen thousand dollars worth of property was destroyed.

The *Times* also says that a company of three hundred Abolitionists had captured Franklin, being opposed by only fifteen fighting Pro-Slavery men. Mr. Fislimaton and two others were reported killed. It was reported the fight lasted one hour.

The Investigating Committee is still at Westport.

St. Louis, June 10.—The *Republican's* Independence correspondent, under date of the 5th, says that Donaldson and four of his men, in the discharge of official duty, were attacked and killed near Hickory Point on the 3d. The Marshal was in the act of arresting the men who attacked the party under Captain Pate.

The Free-Soilers had increased in number, and were destroying houses and driving families from their homes near Bull Creek. One hundred and fifty men, under Captain Reed, had left New Santa Fe, in pursuit of the marauders.

Report says that Franklin has not been taken, though it has been attacked by a large party.

Captain Pate's company has been liberated.

Governor Shannon issued a proclamation on the 4th, in which he commands illegal military organizations to disperse, or they will be dispersed by the United States troops; and calls for vigilance in enforcing the laws, and the protection of the property of all persons, without distinction of party. He adds, that the proclamation of the President of the 11th of February will be strictly enforced.

A requisition has been made on Col. Sumner for a sufficient force to insure obedience to the proclamation.

Chicago, June 10.—The Democratic press has a letter from Lecompton, dated the 4th, which reports several skirmishes between the Pro and Anti-Slavery organizations. The *Kansas City Enterprise,* detailing the previous advices, says thirty Southerners, proceeding from Westport, under the command of Capt. Pate, to Bull Creek, were met by an equal number of Free State men and after two hours' skirmishing, Pate surrendered unconditionally. A party of Pro-Slavery men, including a son of Gov. Shannon, made a night attack on the house of Capt. Walker, five miles from Lecompton. They were fired upon and repulsed. Young Shannon was taken prisoner, but released next day. Gov. Shannon took a company of dragoons, and searched the houses of the Free State men for two days, taking arms and ammunition. Col. Sumner passed through Lecompton on the 4th, *en route* for Topeka.

From the Albany Evening Journal.

A RECORD OF KANSAS RUFFIANISM.

Availing themselves of the fact that the rumors of the alleged death of Dr. Root, General Pomeroy, and Mr. Mitchell, the shooting of Jones, and the killing of "eight Pro-Slavery men," now prove to have been unfounded, the Doughfaces boldly characterize all statements of outrages in Kansas as "Republican lies."

That there have been falsehoods as well as truth sent over the telegraphic lines, by the Missourians who have charge of them, is unquestionable. But these false statements do not invalidate or diminish the real catalogue of crime. To enable our readers to keep the latter in memory, we subjoin below a list of a few occurrences which are authenticated by legal evidence, and which are not even attempted to be denied. There are five times as many other similar ones reported, and tolerably well authenticated. But we wait until they shall be officially and legally confirmed, before adding them to the list.

INVASIONS.

November 29, 1854.—Missourians to the number of over one thousand invade Territory, armed, drive judges and legal voters from polls, and by fraudulent ballots pretend to elect Whitfield delegate.

March 30, 1855.—Nearly four thousand Missourians again invade Territory, and repeat the outrages committed in November preceding.

October 1, 1855.—Third invasion of Missourians, accompanied by similar outrages.

December 15, 1855.—Fourth invasion, by which an endeavor is made to vote down the Free State Constitution, but proves a failure.

May 21, 1856.—Jones, a Missouri postmaster, heads an armed mob of Alabama, Carolina, and Missouri men, which marches against Lawrence, pillages and plunders it, with violence to the inhabitants and the burning of several buildings.

MURDERS.

October 2, 1855.—Thomas Newman, a Free State man, stabbed in street of Leavenworth by a gang of Missourians.

October 2, 1855.—Child killed while at play, by a shot fired by a Missourian at James Furnam, a Free State man, which missed him and entered a window.

November 23, 1855.—Chas. W. Dow, a Free State man, shot by F. N. Coleman, a Pro-Slavery settler. Murderer takes refuge with Gov. Shannon, and is protected by him.

December —, 1855.—James Barber, a Free State man, assaulted and murdered by a shot in the back from the gun of one of President Pierce's Indian Agents.

November, 1855.—Collins, a Free State man, called out from his mill, where he was at work, and shot by Laughlin, a Pro-Slavery settler.

January 17, 1856.—E. P. Brown, a Free State man, taken prisoner by a gang of Missourians, hacked to pieces with knives and hatchets, and his bleeding corpse flung into his own door—from the effects of which his wife is now a maniac.

May 20, 1856.—John Stewart, formerly of Bushford, Allegany county, New York, a young man of 20, shot in his saddle, while attempting to escape from a party of "Jones's posse."

May 19, 1856.—Jones, "the only son of his mother, and she a widow," aged 19, shot through the back, by one of "Jones's posse," because he refused to give up his horse, with which he supported himself and his widowed mother.

PRINTING OFFICES DESTROYED.

December 22, 1855.—*Territorial Register,* an Administration paper at Leavenworth, conducted by Colonel Delahay, mobbed for advocating a free State; presses broken, type thrown into the river, and editor threatened with murder.

April 14, 1855.—*Parkville Luminary,* at Parkville, on the frontier, mobbed by Missourians for similar cause, and the editors, Messrs. Park & Patterson, obliged to quit the State.

May 21, 1856.—*Herald of Freedom* office, Lawrence, Kansas, fired upon with a field-piece by Jones's posse, and reduced to ruins.

Tribune office, Lawrence, Kansas, mobbed, ransacked, and set on fire and burned to the ground; presses, &c., destroyed.

LYNCHINGS—1855 AND 1856.

Sixteen free State men, at different times, have been tarred and feathered, or beaten, or both, and some of them carried into Missouri, or set adrift in the river. Among them were William Phillips, a lawyer of Leavenworth, and a member elect of the Territorial Legislature; the Rev. Pardee Butler, a Baptist preacher; the Rev. Mr. Clark, a Methodist missionary; and other ministers of the Gospel, of various denominations. Assaults and battery have been too numerous to recapitulate, hardly a day passing without some attack on the Free State men in the streets or on the high roads. Among those assailed have been Governor Reeder, General Pomeroy, &c.

UNLAWFUL ARRESTS.

Of Governor Robinson, without a warrant.

Of Mr. Brown, editor of the *Herald of Freedom,* without a warrant.

Of Messrs. Bronson, Hutchinson, Dietzler, Schuyler, Smith, Baker, and fourteen others, by Missourians, acting under authority of a pretended court, for "high treason," in refusing to obey laws of the "Legislature" pretended to have been elected by the Missouri invaders.

PRETENDED LAWS.

September, 1855.—Imposing penalty of death for assisting slaves to escape.

Imposing penalty of death for circulating or printing publications calculated to incite slaves to insurrection.

Imposing penalty of death for assisting slaves to escape from any State, and taking refuge in the Territory.

Imposing penalty of five years' imprisonment at hard labor for harboring fugitive slaves.

Imposing penalty of two years' imprisonment for aiding a fugitive slave to escape from custody of an officer.

Imposing penalty of five years' imprisonment at hard labor for writing, printing, or circulating, anything against Slavery.

Imposing penalty of two years' imprisonment at hard labor for *saying* that persons have not a right to hold slaves in the Territory.

Disqualifying all from sitting as jurors who do not admit the right to hold slaves in the Territory.

Disqualifying all as voters who do not swear to support the Fugitive Slave Law.

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